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University Students Continue To Protest 11 Dec

Tirana Situation Deemed 'Disturbing'

LD1112181390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1510 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, December 11 (TANJUG)—"It is quiet, but tense" in Tirana today, where the situation can be described as "disturbing" after the recent mass student demonstrations turned into open clashes with the police and Army, according to eyewitness accounts given by Yugoslavs and foreigners coming from Albania.

The complex of student dormitories in Tirana has been under a military and police blockade since the demonstrations, and all more important points in the city are guarded by armed security forces.

Albanian President Ramiz Alia, as the Albanian news agency ATA has reported, has accepted the student demand for talks. According to ATA, the talks were to be held last night, but the student representatives failed to show up, for which no explanation was given.

The student demonstrations in Tirana broke out two days ago. According to quite reliable sources, the decision for the students to take to the streets was taken at the law school in Tirana. Between 2,500 and 3,000 students took part in the demonstrations.

Judging by how the demonstrations unfolded, an organized rebellion was involved, one which was suppressed—only provisionally according to some—by strong police and military forces. At least thirty students were seriously wounded in fierce clashes with the security forces.

Leader of the Albanian youth organization Baskurti tried talking to the students during the demonstrations, but was silenced with whistles. The students strictly demanded to talk with party and state leader Ramiz Alia.

The two main slogans at the student demonstrations were, "We Want Freedom" and "We Demand Democratic Changes." Both freedom and democratic changes were promised to the Albanians at the more recent party plenums. Although certain changes have taken place, they have obviously not satisfied the students and other Albanians, who are displeased with both the pace and substance of the changes. It is to be expected that democratic changes will be on the agenda of the congress of the Albanian Party of Labour to be held early next year, or roughly ten months ahead of the regular schedule.

According to those well acquainted with the situation in Albania, the latest student demonstrations in Tirana could be taken as a sign that an opposition is being formed in Albania and that its nucleus is made up of students and intellectuals.

Ramiz Alia's consent to talk with the students and possibly even negotiate with them is an indication that things are changing in Albania. Until only recently, anything similar would have been inconceivable. Another interesting detail is that, whereas Kavaje and Korce were the centres of dissatisfaction in Albania in the past two years, Tirana has now taken over that role.

It is assessed that the unrest suits Ramiz Alia, that is, his final showdown with the hard-line supporters, headed by Nejmija Hoxha, 69, the widow of the late Albanian leader Enver Hoxha. This could mean that Ramiz Alia will tolerate the unrest for as long as it serves his own ends.

Students Demand Multiparty State

LD1112185190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Over 8,000 students of Tirana University are continuing with their general strike today. The strike committee comprising 12 students has announced that the students are standing firm on their previous demands, the most important of which is the introduction of a multiparty system in Albania. The students have rejected any talks with senior state or party officials and are waiting for the arrival of state and party president, Ramiz Alia, who promised to talk to them today about all their demands. The striking students have gathered in the student center, and there have been no reports of any unrest. Strong police forces guard the student center area and armored militia units are positioned nearby.

Alia Meets With Students

AU1112221190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] This evening, Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received in the Palace of Brigades a delegation of students from the university, who had sought to express to him their problems and concerns.

At the start of this meeting, Comrade Ramiz said: I wish to inform you what the 13th Central Committee plenum decided at its meeting today. It examined the current situation, Comrade Ramiz said and recommended the relevant measures for its improvement.

In connection with this, it decided that the 10th regular party congress will be held in June 1991. A national party aktiv will be held in Tirana on 26 December 1990 to determine the party's electoral platform and to approve the list of its candidates for the People's Assembly elections. The plenum relieved the following people of their functions: Comrades Muho Asllani, Simon Stefani, Lenka Cuko, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, members of the Politburo; and Comrades Qirjako Mihali and Pirro Kondi from the posts of candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of Albanian Workers Party. It recommended to the chairman of the Council of Ministers the proposal to the Presidium of the People's Assembly on necessary changes in the government in accordance with the present situation.

The plenum expressed the view that the creation of independent political organizations in accordance with the laws in force is to the benefit of the further democratization of the country's life and pluralism.

Comrade Ramiz then told the students that he personally, along with the entire leadership, had been following their every step in recent days and from the beginning had expressed themselves in favor of dialogue, talks, and discussions with them: As early as Saturday, at 0130, I met a delegation from you. The next day, I received Mimoza [possible reference to Mimoza Jazaj, secretary of the Albanian Union of Working Youth], who is now in front of me, in my office, and we talked at length with each other. I called to you all for peace, so that your just concerns and demands could be solved only by normal and democratic discussion. Up until now, as I have met with you, I have taken the same view that everything, I stress again everything, is to be solved in peace and good understanding, in the interests of the homeland and the entire people.

The interference of malevolent or provocative elements, who do not wish well for either the people or [word indistinct] must be stopped, Comrade Ramiz Alia said. They do not want the country's development, the freedom of the homeland, or a true democratization of life.

The road of democratization is no boulevard. We must all keep this in mind. It needs culture, tolerance, and order. Democracy admits no conditions, impositions, or coercion. It calls for dialogue, argument, logic in the general interest, respect for one's comrade, respect for justice, and standards of behavior and ethics. If these are not respected, then this paves the way for anarchy. All our people must bear this in mind, especially when pluralism is in question, whether pluralism of thought or organizational pluralism, what is called party pluralism.

Each among us, every honest citizen of our country, must keep at the forefront of his attention the interests of the homeland and the interests of the people. Someone may make objections. Everything must be weighed in the scales of the homeland's destiny and its freedom and independence; therefore, we need unity. We need to walk together, and must work shoulder to shoulder. I express my unshaken confidence and total conviction, Comrade Ramiz said, in our young people, especially students, as the wisest and more cultured stratum, who are a great treasure of our people. I express confidence that the workers class and our entire people will further the process of democratization without stopping. The process of democratization demands the contribution of everybody, workers, peasants, and students, but nothing can be done overnight, Comrade Ramiz stressed. We must move toward Europe, but we must go with our cultural wealth; we must go with our traditions, our distinctiveness, and not as a bad copy of the others. We must, therefore, be mature, without pausing for a moment on the road of democratization, which is the road of the interests of the homeland, socialism, and the people.

The students aired their support for the democratic reforms launched so far and pointed to the fact that ths was also one of the goals of their manifestations. Among other things, they called for political pluralism, the publication of CSCE documents, the enactment of effective measures to overcome economic difficulties, etc. The students informed Comrade Ramiz about the idea they have of creating their independent political organization of students and young intellectuals. Comrade Ramiz said that regarding this you must act according to the laws in force, submitting immediately this demand for registration with the Ministry of Justice.

An explicatory dialogue followed, and views were exchanged on many problems preoccupying young people and the entire country today, such as political pluralism, our national economy's road of development, and problems of higher education. (?The comments) offered by Comrade Ramiz on the new elections to the People's Assembly assumed an important place. He also spoke about the importance of the rule of law, and especially respect for the laws on the part of all citizens, institutions, and everybody, starting from himself, he said, down to ordinary protectors of public order.

In reply to students questions, he explained the meaning of human rights and freedoms which consist, among other things, of a strict respect for the law in a civilized way. Any act or manifestation must take place within the limits set by the law. Otherwise, incidents nobody desires should occur.

When speaking of a juridical state this makes all the state organs and organisms, as well as the citizens, observe the laws. In case the police exceeds its competences, then measures should be adopted against it. Even if anyone acts contrary to the law, the juridial state acts against him. I, therefore, call on all you and the state organs, Comrade Ramiz Alia underlined, to act correctly, in a civilized and democratic way.

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke to those present on the economic questions on which the students wanted his opinion. Regarding this question, he laid the stress on two moments: first, the need to strengthen the discipline at work so the workers, peasants, clerks, and youth render their maximum contribution; second, the need to strengthen the political stability of the country. We should not forget, said Comrade Ramiz, that the foreigners, too, do not invest in case the political situation of the country is not reliable.

The youth should attend lessons so as not to run counter to the school rules; the working class must show up to the work center and implement the tasks so as not to run against the labour code; the clerks too should observe the discipline at work. Comrade Ramiz Alia said, you and your comrades should immediately resume the lessons.

In conclusion, he said to the students that they could hear full recordings of the talks he had held with them this evening at the student center.

Protests Continue; Injuries Reported

AU1212131890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] TANJUG reports that Albanian students have rejected the call by Ramiz Alia, head of state and the party, to stop their protest, which has been continuing since Sunday [9 December], and to return to their classes. The agency also cites an unofficial report that after a meeting with Alia last night student representatives said that they were not satisfied with the concessions offered and that they would continue their protests. One female student has been killed in the protests and doctors are fighting to save the life of another student.

Student Reportedly Killed 12 Dec

LD1212144890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1257 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (TANJUG)—Protesting Albanian students have turned down a call by state and party leader Ramiz Alia to stop their protests, which started on Sunday, and return to their classrooms, TANJUG has learned in a telephone conversation with Tirana today.

One student was killed in the clashes with police forces over the past two days and another is in critical condition. An unknown number of others also sustained injuries of various degree.

The students' representatives at the end of their negotiations with Alia last night said they were not satisfied with the concessions offered and would continue their protest, said TANJUG's collocutor, who did not wish to be named.

Ramiz Alia told the students last night they could form an independent organization at once. Official announcements from Tirana, however, have stressed that independent parties can only be formed within existing laws, which means that they can only be registered as part of the Democratic Front of Albania, a mass organization. The Democratic Front is headed by Nexhmije Hoxha, widow of the late Albanian leader Enver Hoxha.

The student demonstrations in Tirana, the biggest postwar protest against the authorities in Albania, began on Sunday. The students called for democratic reforms, political pluralism the publication of CSCE documents and measures to overcome the economic difficulties - and also for the government's resignation.

Reports from Tirana say between 8,000 and 9,000 students, schoolchildren and citizens assembled during yesterday's protests in Tirana. TANJUG collocutor said powerful security forces were holding Tirana University campus under a blockade.

Ramiz Alia said during the talks with students last night that law and order had to be preserved in the country "so as to avoid incidents which nobody wants," the Albanian News Agency ATA has reported. Alia said all those who broke the law and violated their authority, including security organs, would have to face appropriate measures. The street is not a way to democracy, Alia told the students, adding that "democracy does not tolerate any conditions, orders or blackmail." He said he hoped the students would "together with all other Albanians, support the struggle for democratization initiated by the party."

ATA also said the plenum of the Albanian Party of Labour last night suggested that in keeping with the current situation in the country the prime minister propose necessary changes in the government. The names were also announced of five Politburo members who were relieved of their posts last night.

Security Forces Block University

AU1212145290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The plenum of the Albanian Workers' Party concluded that the founding of independent political organizations in Albania in accordance with the existing laws would be good for the further democratization of life and for the (?existence) of pluralism. This was reported by the Albanian news agency ATA.

The news agency also reported on the talks held last night between Ramiz Alia, head of state and the party, with student representatives. The president told students that he is ready for a dialogue, and appealed to them to solve their justified demands through (?normal) and democratic talks. We need unity and our path of democratization should serve the interests of our country and socialism, Alia said.

TANJUG learned today, however, in a telephone conversation with Tirana that Albanian students have rejected Alia's call to stop protests. They said that they are not satisfied with the offered concessions and that they will continue their protests in which one student has been killed and several slightly or more seriously injured. The students demanded not only democratic reforms and political pluralism, the publication of the documents of the CSCE, and the measures for surmounting for economic difficulties, but also a change of regime.

According to the TANJUG interlocutor, strong [jak] Albanian security forces are blocking Tirana University. Citing a statement by an economist from Tirana University, REUTER reports that Albanian students, intellectuals, and workers have founded a democratic party, the first independent political organization in this country.

AWP Central Committee Plenum Dismisses Members

AU1112193090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Unattributed report: "Communique on the meeting of the 13th Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the party Central Committee was held today, 11 December 1990, under the chairmanship of Comrade Ramiz Alia. It examined the current situation and recommended the relevant measures for its improvement.

In connection with the above, it decided:

1. The 10th regular party congress will be held in June 1991.

2. A national party aktiv will meet in Tirana on 26 December 1990 to determine the party's electoral platform and to compile the lists of candidates for the People's Assembly elections.

3. The plenum (?discharged) Comrades Muho Asllani, Simon Stefani, Lenka Cuko, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, members of the Politburo; and Comrades Qirjako Mihali and Pirro Kondi from the post of candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of Albanian Workers Party.

4. It is recommended to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, in accordance with the present situation, to propose necessary changes in the government to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

5. The plenum expressed the view that the creation of independent political organizations in accordance with the laws in force is to the benefit of the further democratization of the country's life and pluralism.

Plenum of the AWP Central Committee. Tirana, 11 December 1990.

It has also been learned that Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received university student representatives in the Palace of Brigades today. These students had been invited to inform him of their problems and concerns.

'Independent Political Organizations' Formed

AU1212083090 Paris AFP in English 0157 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Ruzica Gravilovic report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Dec 12 (AFP) — Albania, the final bastion of hardline communism in Eastern Europe, on Tuesday [11 December] authorized the creation of free parties following three days of student demonstrations in the capital Tirana.

During an emergency plenum of the Albanian Communist Party's central committee, party chief Ramiz Alia signed a five-point communique which agreed to the formation of "independent political organizations," according to news agency reports received here.

The party simultaneously announced that five politiburo members were being removed. The moves, which brought expressions of joy in Tirana, came on the third day of student protests which had become openly political, according to the reports. Students protesting against power cuts in dormitories on Sunday began shouting "Reform" and "End the dictatorship," the Austrian news agency APA said.

TANJUG, the official Yugoslav news agency, said thousands of people rushed into the streets of Tirana to celebrate the central committee announcement. The crowd also cheered the news of the sacking of the five politburo members, the agency said.

Among politburo figures to lose their jobs were Simon Stefani, known as an opponent of reforms, as well as Foto Cami, the party ideologue.

Mr. Alia appealed to students to return to their classrooms Tuesday, according to Albanian Radio monitored by the BBC. He said an end to student unrest was a precondition for the normalization of the situation, according to the radio report, which said the Albanian leader met with student representatives to brief them on the results of the emergency party plenum. [passage omitted]

Radio Tirana, in a report monitored here, said a first party was formed shortly after the official announcement authorizing the existence of independent political organizations. The new group was called the Party of Students and Young Intellectuals, Radio Tirana said. A student delegation informed Mr. Alia of the birth of the party during a meeting with the president late Tuesday, the radio said.

Mr. Alia told the students he had been in favor of a dialogue "from the start."

Citizens Express 'Joy'

LD1112225990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2233 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, December 11 (TANJUG)—A large number of citizens took to the streets of Tirana on Tuesday evening to demonstrate their joy following the decision of the APL [Albanian Workers Party] Central Committee to allow free forming of parties and after it removed seven members and candidate members of the Politburo, believed to be opponents of speedier reforms in the country. TANJUG has learned in phone contact with Tirana that inhabitants have rallied in downtown Tirana and were peacefully expressing their joy.

The Central Committee session also called for changes in government.

Head of the Albanian Party Ramiz Alia, who is claimed to be behind the latest political developments in the country, met on Tuesday evening with a delegation of Tirana students, who have been on strike for several days demanding that the process of democratization in Albanian be stepped up.

Multiparty System Authorization Reported

LD1112234290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2256 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, December 11 (TANJUG)—The Albanian Party of Labor (APL) has decided at its Central Committee session on Tuesday to allow the forming of political parties, Tirana Radio set out on Tuesday evening news.

The session, TANJUG has learned in phone contact with Tirana, that five of the eleven APL Politburo members have been relieved as well as two Politburo candidate members. [sentence as received]

Among the relieved are mostly older cadre and hardliners, who resisted reforms of Ramiz Alia. Former Interior Minister Simon Stefani, Lenka Cuko, Muho Aslani, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celik, Kirjako Mihali and Piro Kondi were removed from the top APL leadership.

At the same time, Tuesday's special plenum, convened while student unrests continued for the third day in Tirana, decided to propose to President Ramiz Alia the "necessary changes in the government."

In view of TANJUG's source in Tirana, who asked not to be named, head of party and state Ramiz Alia was behind the latest changes. He met on Tuesday evening with a delegation of Tirana students, who have been on strike since Sunday demanding speedier reforms of the political and economic systems and forming of an independent student party.

There were no reports so far on the contents of the talk between Alia and the students, but an announcement from the Tuesday Central Committee session said "It will benefit further democratization of life in the country if forming of independent political organizations within the existing legislation be allowed."

Although the formulation was not sufficiently clear, the activity of new parties would most likely be allowed before the new parliamentary elections, to be held in February next year.

The earlier changes in legislation have for the first time in the country's history permitted several candidates to compete for one parliamentary seat.

There were a number of wounded in clashes between students and the security forces in Tirana, as learned.

A large group of people, between 8,000 and 9,000, mostly students and pupils, but also workers and others, rallied in downtown Tirana before the APL Central Committee decision and Alia's meeting with the student delegation.

Creation of Parties To Be Announced 12 Dec

AU1212153490 Paris AFP in English 1513 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 12 (AFP)—At least one person was killed and several others wounded, one seriously, as students demonstrated in the Albanian capital Tirana on Wednesday [12 December] calling for the government to resign, Tanjug news agency reported.

The creation of several opposition parties is to be announced Wednesday at a rally on the university campus, a Tirana intellectual contacted by telephone meanwhile told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. One of the parties will be named Democratic Party, according to the source which expected many intellectuals and workers to attend the meeting.

The reports came after Albania's communist rulers agreed to allow independent political parties late Tuesday following three days of student protests in Tirana which threatened to escalate into a tide of popular unrest. Students rejected an appeal for calm by President Ramiz Alia who met with student delegates overnight Tuesday, Tanjug said, quoting contacts in Albania.

Demonstrators said they would continue their protest because concessions made by the government such as the introduction of a multi-party system and the sacking of politburo hardliners were insufficient, Tanjug added. Along with the decision to scrap the communist party monopoly, the central committee removed five out of 13 members of the politburo and two of its six alternate members.

Those sacked include ideologist Foto Cami who is reputed to be Mr. Alia's closest aide and Simon Stefani, the former interior minister. Mr. Stefani lost his government job in the wake of the "embassy crisis" last July when some 5,000 Albanians crammed into foreign embassies before being allowed to leave the country.

Up to 9,000 students took to the streets Tuesday after army and the police sealed off the university campus, according to Tanjug. Protests erupted Sunday after electricity was cut off in university buildings. Students later shouted "Reforms" and "End dictatorship", sources in Tirana said.

The decision to introduce a multi-party system was announced by President Alia following an extraordinary session of the Albanian Workers' Party central committee. A communique said "creation of independent political organisations encourages democratic reform and plurality in Albania."

About 10,000 people poured into the streets of Tirana to celebrate the event and the creation of Albania's first free party The Party of Students and Young Intellectuals, according to Tanjug news agency quoting witnesses in the Albanian capital. The emergence of the students'

party is the first concrete evidence of organised opposition in communist Albania, barring a few scattered strikes and demonstrations reported by independent sources.

Intellectuals have been prominent in moves to end the monopoly of the communist party which has ruled Albania with an iron hand for 45 years. The announcement on Tuesday of a forthcoming government reshuffle and an extraordinary party congress next June are seen as a bid to win time and mollify public opinion clamouring increasingly for Albania to join the reform process sweeping the rest of eastern Europe.

Faced with mounting dissent at home and anxious for acceptance as a full member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Albania is slowly but surely abandoning the policies enforced by the founder of the communist state Enver Hoxha.

In recent months, the government has approved a limited private sector and given permission to reopen mosques and churches closed since 1967. The Justice Ministry and the barristers' association, both scrapped in 1965 have been revived. Some travel restrictions have been lifted and Albanians given permission to seek loans from abroad.

'Democratic Party' Founded at Rally

AU1212171990 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Today at Tirana University, [passage indistinct] about the dialogue with their representatives on 11 December. At the Student Center at 1600 this afternoon, a large rally was held. At this meeting, calls were made—in the course of the democratic reforms carried out in recent months—to form the Democratic Party [Partia Demokratike], which aims to preserve the independence, integrity, and sovereignty of the Albanian state, and to strengthen national unity for a pluralist and modern Albania. It was said that this party will act on a parliamentary, peaceful, and democratic road, through pluralist and tolerant dialogue with all political forces which struggle for freedom and independence, together with the apparatus of the state. A call was made to understand the need for work to run smoothly, and for students to resume classes. The need for nationwide calm was stressed at the meeting. This will help most of all to integrate Albania in European processes. The Albanians have the opportunity to show the world their political maturity, and they know how to take important decisions through political dialogue.

The program of the party was then read out. Those present shouted for democracy, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and political dialogue.

Leaders Continue To Send National Day Greetings

Perez de Cuellar Sends Regards

AU1112185090 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia has received a greetings telegram from Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations Organization:

On the occasion of the celebration of your country's liberation day, allow me to convey warmest greetings and congratulations to you and to the Albanian Government and people. I wish to express again the hope that the continued loyalty of all member-states to the goals and principles of the UN Charter and the organizations's work will assist the achievement of a peaceful and just world.

Your Excellency, please accept my deepest assurances and respects.

Romania's Roman Sends Greetings

AU1112173590 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Council of Ministers Chairman Adil Carcani from Romanian Prime Minsiter Petre Roman; place and date not given]

[Text] The anniversary of your National Day and of the declaration of Albania's independence gives me the opportunity and pleasure of sending cordial greetings and best wishes for the progress and well-being of the Albanian people.

I am convinced that opportunities exist to further develop comprehensive relations between our countries through joint efforts.

Hungary's Goncz Greets Alia

AU1112184890 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Hungarian President Arpad Goncz; place and date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the name of the Hungarian people and on my own behalf, I express sincere congratulations and very best wishes to Your Excellency and to all the Albanian people.

I hope that the bilateral ties and cooperation between our two countries will be further strengthened in the future.

I avail myself of this occasion to wish you success in your work and in the responsible duties of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Bulgaria's Lukanov Greets Carcani

AU1112173390 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Council of Ministers Chairman Adil Carcani from Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria; place and date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, accept my most sincere greetings and best wishes for the well-being and successes of the friendly Albanian people on the road of democracy.

I avail myself of this occasion to express my conviction of the necessity of expanding and deepening comprehensive relations between our two Balkan countries in the interests of cooperation in the Balkans and Europe.

SFRY's Markovic Sends Regards

AU1112173790 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Dec 90 p 3

[Telegram to Council of Ministers Chairman Adil Carcani from Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council; place and date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I send to Your Excellency best wishes for the Albanian people's prosperity.

On this occasion, I wish to stress the need for progress in relations and cooperation between our two countries, in the interests of our peoples and of peace and security in the Balkans.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pays Visit to Cuba

Holds Talks With Cuba's Malmierca

AU1012202990 Tirana ATA in English 1902 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 10 (ATA)—Albania's minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, arrived on an official and friendly visit to the Republic of Cuba on December 9, in the evening, at the invitation of his Cuban homologue, Isidoro Malmierca. At the "Jose Marti" international airport of Havana, he was welcomed by the minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, and senior functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania] in Havana, Clirim Cepani, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in Tirana, Julio Cancio.

On this occasion, Reis Malile made a statement for the Cuban press and radio-television, emphasizing "We have come on a visit to your beautiful country with the desire to forge ahead and further strengthen the existing friendly relations between Albania and Cuba." He expressed to his Cuban colleague his satisfaction over the invitation and sentiments of sincere friendship and sympathy the Albanian people cherish for the freedom-loving Cuban people. The Albanian minister of foreign affairs emphasized that in course of the talks with the Cuban party they will draw the balance sheet of achievements marked in the relations between the two countries and will examine the new paths and possibilities to develop them further in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural fields.

Likewise, during the talks opinions were exchanged on various international developments, especially concerning the developments in Europe, the Balkans, Latin America having to do with the consolidation of international peace and cooperation.

On his part, the minister of foreign affairs of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, wished welcome to Comrade Reis Malile and spoke on the good relations existing between our two countries.

After pointing out that this visit takes place on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between Cuba and Albania, Isidoro Malmierca said that it will serve the consolidation of cooperation and friendship between our two peoples and countries. He wished that the visit of our foreign minister in Cuba be successful.

Reportage on Malile Visit

WA1112171790

For Cuban reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Reiz Malile to Cuba, including reports on his talks with Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, please see the Cuba section of the 10 December Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Popov Discusses Challenges Facing New Government

AU1012180190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 90 p 1

[Report on interview with new Prime Minister Dimitur Popov by Violeta Simeonova and Dimitrina Aleksandrova, in Sofia on 7 December: "Will There Be A Competent Cabinet?"]

[Text] Immediately after the Grand National Assembly entrusted Mr. Dimitur Popov with the task of forming a new cabinet, he gave the following interview to the daily DUMA:

[DUMA] Some time ago the president stated that the prospective government in charge of implementing the most decisive reforms will be a kamikaze government. How do you regard this definition?

[Popov] At that time of this statement the president certainly based his convictions on the conditions and trends existing in the country's political life of the moment. This was quite some time ago.

[DUMA] Are you afraid of failure?

[Popov] I am not afraid of anything, because this is an experiment. If it is successful, it will be all right, if it should fail, it will be a regrettable. However, what should I be afraid of? A painful operation is required and must be accomplished to save the life of society. There is no reason for being afraid of anything.

[DUMA] Do you consider the reassurances of the political forces as a sufficient guarantee for the success of your future government?

[Popov] If the reassurances of the political forces are followed by specific actions in parliament and outside parliament, then they will provide sufficient guarantees for the success of a government.

[DUMA] Do you intend to borrow something from the "Lukanov Program?"

[Popov] I intend to borrow everything that is feasible under the current circumstances from any program whatsoever. I am not committed to any doctrines and programs based on specific personalities and parties.

Mr. Popov also stated that the basic efforts of the new government will focus on the three following directions:

On the basis of the parliament's decisions his cabinet should strive to operate initial changes in the economic sector so as to permit the application of the market economy principles. The government should contribute to the adoption of laws which are likely to provide the legal basis for market economy and guarantee the presence of foreign investments.

The government's minimal program is aimed at halting the process of the economy's precipitating decline before it has reached bottom. Stabilization should simultaneously guarantee an upsurge. The next government should start from conditions completely different from the present ones.

Mr. Popov stated that he has already some people in mind whom he would like to propose for the new cabinet. Nevertheless, he would like to keep the names secret, for the time being. He said that he would start consultations immediately.

Filip Dimitrov Elected SDS Council Leader

AU1112141590 Sofia BTA in English 1402 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—Mr. Filip Dimitrov, a jurist and a member of the Green Party, who until now was deputy chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], was elected its chairman.

Not Member of National Assembly

AU1112205190 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—Thirty-five-year-old lawyer Filip Dimitrov of the Green Party is the new chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS]. He was elected to this post today in the afternoon after three rounds, polling eight out of 15 possible votes. In the last round he competed with Radical Democrat Aleksandur Yordanov. Filip Dimitrov is not a member of parliament, which means separating the chairmanship of the UDF Coordinating Council from the post of the leader of the UDF parliamentary group. Mr. Dimitrov was born in Sofia. He has worked as a lawyer for 12 years, taking up civil cases mostly, as he says. He is married, he has no children yet. He was not a member of any dissident organization before November 10, 1989. He joined the Green Party the moment it was founded. He was a member of, and still supports, Father Khristofor Subev's Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights. He has never been a member of the Communist Party. The centrifugal forces in the UDF are being urged on by people who do not like us, Mr. Dimitrov said on his election as leader of the UDF. The representatives of the Social Democratic Party and of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party did not vote for him. The chairman of the Coordinating Council is moderate, there is nothing special in his voice, Mr. Dimitrov said, using a figure of speech to reply to the question of how he sees himself as chairman of the Coordinating Council. In his opinion the most important problem of the UDF at the moment is communication—within the union itself and among its regional organizations.

Struggle for Defense, Interior Ministry Viewed

AU1012143290 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 Dec 90 p 1

[Untitled article by Captain Ivan Genov]

[Text] For already two weeks now Bulgaria has been without a government. God only knows when this situation will end. The problem is "clarified" by a miraculous organ called the Political Consultative Council (there was such an organ in the dying Warsaw Pact), under conditions of an almost complete information blackout. From the news conference of the Socialists we understood that "the formula of the government is the crucial issue." From the official opposition we learned that "the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will never agree to a Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] control over the two crucial ministries—the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense." The parliament awaits without complaining the results of the aforementioned consultations of the political forces, and in the mean time, the scandal with the files of the leaders of the same political forces is gaining momentum.

Please note, dear readers, you who languish in the misfortune of our daily life, that the haggling is not related to the Ministries of Economy or Planning, or to the spheres of education and social welfare, but for supremacy over those two departments, which already countless times declared their neutrality amidst the flaming political passions, and about which all political forces sincerely (I would like to believe that) declare that both the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense must serve only the all-national rather than the narrow party interests.

Who has been authorized to believe that he could solve the countless problems in economy, health protection, education, and social welfare by gaining control over the "crucial" Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs? For more than a year we lag behind the stormy changes that completely renewed the image of Eastern Europe. Does someone really believe that by controlling the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense he could resolve all issues related to democracy, market economy, pluralistic civic rule-of-law state, and many other things that are so simple in the civilized world....

For how much longer will they tax our patience....

BSP Wishes To Retain Ministries

AU1112143190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] prefers to retain within the new cabinet the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This was announced on 11 December by Chavdar Kyuranov at the regular BSP news conference.

The talks of the political forces and the formula of the new government were the main topics touched upon at the news conference. The journalists were informed that at yesterday's meeting of the BSP Supreme Council the candidacies of the BSP ministers have been adopted. No specific names were mentioned, however, it was announced that there are several candidates for each post.

Chavdar Kyuranov explained the BSP's partiality for the Ministry of Internal Affairs by the fact that it was precisely the BSP that began the serious changes in this ministry, which to a large degree changed the ministry's image and the people's attitudes toward it.

According to Chavdar Kyuranov, the question now of whether to form a coalition government or a government of experts is not very pressing, because the candidacies proposed by the BSP satisfy both formulas.

The opinion of the BSP is that the following situation must exist at the Council of Ministers: A neutral prime minister with deputies who should represent the views of their parties or groups. The BSP considers it appropriate that the principle of parity must be preserved in dividing the basic ministries, while experts should be sought for the other ministries. The principle of competence should be observed in appointing deputy ministers.

We shall make efforts to complete the political agreement by tomorrow evening, Chavdar Kyuranov said.

Filip Bokov said that the BSP Supreme Council and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have nothing to do with the war of personal files that has begun. The hints of certain circles about such a connection are groundless, Filip Bokov said.

BSP Said Satisfied With Political Agreement

AU1112221390 Sofia BTA in English 2055 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—The agreement between the political forces has already been drafted and the Socialists are satisfied with it, it was underlined at the regular press conference with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] parliamentary faction. The Socialists expressed their hope that the agreement would ease the tension in the country and speed up all reforms those in the economy in particular.

Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov, deputy chairman of the BSP, stressed the importance the agreement attaches to the proper functioning of parliament. He made it clear that the political forces are against dissolving the supreme legislative body before it has performed its functions.

The Socialists believe that the strength of the new government will depend to a large extent on its political coloring.

The deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers are expected to represent the major political forces unlike the head of the cabinet who does not belong to any political party. The eight most important ministries will be distributed among the major political parties, the BSP

claiming the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

The secretaries of state and the deputy ministers will be experts.

Yesterday the BSP Supreme Council nominated its candidates for the different posts. It was explained there are alternative nominations.

The participants in the conference said there might be structural changes in the cabinet as well.

The agreement provides guarantees that individual persons or organizations will not be persecuted on political grounds and envisages some amendments to the country's Criminal Code to this effect, Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov said.

The agreement treats the problem of the responsibility for the country's present crisis, distinguishing between personal and joint responsibility. It is also insisted in the document on initiating legal proceedings against the culprits.

A special section of the agreement deals with the property of parties and other organizations and includes some views as to the minimum size necessary for their proper functioning. The document contains provisions which make it possible to return state property to its rightful owners.

There are no restrictions on the access to archives of national importance, but purely party archives can be used only with the consent of the political forces, it is said in the agreement.

It was said at the press conference that the striking students had demanded almost full control over the work of the group drafting the agreement. The BSP representatives announced that a copy of the agreement was presented to the students two days ago and that they were invited to state their views on it in writing, but no comment has been received from them so far.

Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov denied the rumors that the BSP was at the bottom of the scandal with the records of the members of parliament accused of being informers of the state security department. "Had we been at the bottom of it, we would not have started with Petur Beron", he pointed out. The former UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] leader has been recently accused of being involved with the Secret Services.

BSP's Lilov on Party Guilt, Socialists' Future

AU1112143590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 8 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Valentina Angelova; place and date not given: "No Human Being Lacks Ideals"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Angelova] In December last year you said that one of the first tasks of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is to rid itself of the individuals who have discredited the party. What is the reason for the delay in answering the questions concerning the guilt of the party and individual party members?

[Angelova] I stand by the view which I defended a year ago. I am convinced that the BSP must dissociate itself from those who bear the blame for the grave crisis facing Bulgaria. In fact this matter does not depend on my or your opinion, nor on the opinion of anyone in the opposition. It is a political necessity. We cannot advance unless we analyze the reasons for the present state of the party. I confirm that the party must make an assessment of the past period, announce the names of the guilty, and dissociate itself from these people, punishing them according to their guilt.

[Angelova] In the meantime some of them have joined the opposition.

[Lilov] Yes, some managed to go over to the opposition. However, be this as it may, this is a pressing necessity. Why has the process been delayed? It is because this process is difficult in its very nature. We must not resolve this issue in the manner used by the totalitarian party. In the past, when someone obstructed those in power, the party did not waste time on ceremony, but quickly got rid of him, irrespective of whether his guilt was proven or not. We cannot permit ourselves to act like this. I strongly support severe punishment of the guilty persons, but only the guilty ones. When the offense is proved, an appropriate political and moral punishment must follow. We are carrying out this work in the party; many people have been expelled, but many other have not yet been brought to account. You are right about this. The process is a painful one. Concerning those who have committed crimes and violated the laws of Bulgaria, the prosecutor's office and the courts are the competent bodies to pronounce verdicts on their cases and to impose the appropriate penalty.

[Angelova] However, the delay caused a blocking of the Assembly's work.

[Lilov] After our last congress, we set up a special commission on these issues. We made preparations for a plenum of the Supreme Party Council to widen the circle of the main people bearing the guilt for the present state of the country and the party, with the aim of adopting a decision which corresponds to the objective political truth and judging the guilty persons as they deserve. [passage omitted]

[Angelova] Certain forces in politics do not conceal their desire to achieve the actual elimination of the Socialist Party and to place it outside the law.

[Lilov] Judging from the recent "frank statements" by the opposition, this aim appears to be a real one.

However, I believe that its implementation is not realistic. Our party has a century-long history, it has deep roots in society and history, and cannot be eliminated, as some people imagine. This is one aspect of the question. The other aspect, which is no less important, is that the democratization of Bulgaria is impossible without the BSP, which exerts its own influence and, moreover, is really changing. Without the BSP, the political process in Bulgaria would lead to an unforeseeable situation, which would bring immense misfortunes and distortions for the country, and may disrupt the transformation of our society into a democratic one. If we start by destroying parties, we will simply repeat our country's recent and more distant history, which offers us many lessons in this respect, and dramatic ones at that. Therefore, I am not afraid that our party will be annihilated, this is beyond the strength of anyone in Bulgaria, but I do fear that such an aim and such activity may lead the country into tragic situations.

We are making a huge mistake in wasting the strength of parliament on heated political battles, which constantly distract parliament from its main task, namely the drafting of the new Bulgarian constitution. I spoke on this issue, but was immediately accused of all the sins on earth. I insist on speeding up the work on drawing up the constitution, not only because this is the chief purpose of the Grand National Assembly, but also because it is the strongest guarantee for Bulgaria's democratization. It will be difficult for any party to decide to violate the Constitution; it would be much easier for it to breach some article of another law.

Meets With Belogradchik Citizens

AU1112135290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 90 p 1

[Ninko Gruev report: "Aleksandur Lilov's Meetings"]

[Text] Belogradchik, Vidin, 7 Dec—Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council and National Assembly deputy of the 70th Belogradchik Electoral District stated the following at a meeting with his constituents in the town of Belogradchik: The most important task of the political parties is to contribute to the preservation of civic peace in the country, by trying to avert chaotic conditions and infighting. The prestige and role of the Grand National Assembly should be enhanced by guaranteeing the optimal conditions for its effective work. The most important task, however, is that everyone should contribute to overcoming the government crisis by establishing a government of peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

Aleksandur Lilov further dwelled in detail on the current political situation by pointing out that our country is in a crucial stage of the crisis. Confrontation and hostilities have reached dangerous proportions and the extremist forces might take advantage of the situation, which is most dangerous for the country. Comrade Aleksandur Lilov expressed confidence that the dangerous point of the crisis has been overcome by the agreement on a new Bulgarian Government. Let us hope that it will be an efficiently working government likely to justify the confidence we are placing in it, the speaker stated.

That same evening Aleksandur Lilov met Socialists and supporters in the Vidin Sports Palace. The meeting was organized by the BSP Municipal Council. After having discussed the country's political situation, Aleksandur Lilov dwelled in detail on the state of the BSP. Our party must be preserved as an important political force, the chairman of the BSP Supreme Council stressed. The party must change in accordance with the realities, it should neither lag behind, nor be too hasty. The most important thing is to accelerate the changes within the BSP and to consolidate it. Concerning the question of guilt and responsibility, Aleksandur Lilov stated that the BSP bears political responsibility for the country's present state of affairs, but is not guilty. Guilt is always specific and can never be collective.

Zhelev Interviewed on Turkish Rights, Pope

AU1212091490 Sofia BTA in English 2212 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Ankara, 11 Dec (BTA)—Yesterday and today, in two subsequent issues, the Turkish GUNAYDIN paper published the interview its special correspondent Osman Ikiz held with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria. The interview is headlined "the case of Agca will be disclosed to the world."

President Zhelev pointed out that he backs up the idea to reveal the whole truth about any possible involvement of Bulgaria in the attempt on the life of the pope, the murder of writer Georgi Markov, international smuggling, et cetera. We must do it to prove that we have changed, that we have embarked on the road to democracy and to gain the world's confidence, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev stated.

Commenting on the restoration of the names of the Turks in Bulgaria, President Zhelev said that in parallel with the restoration of their names, these people "should be given religious freedom and their ethnic identity should be recognized." He pointed out that these are basic human rights and that Bulgaria will solve the problems through carrying out democratic changes.

Dwelling on Bulgaro-Turkish relations and on Turkey's proposal to set up a Black Sea zone of economic cooperation in particular, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev underlined that "this is an important proposal which is in harmony with the developments in Europe and the world."

Replying to a question about the Bulgarian people's fear of Turkey, President Zhelev pointed out that part of the Bulgarians are scared by Turkey's military might, because it poses a potential threat to their country. "But I believe that a war in Europe is impossible," the president of the Republic stated, and added that it is

politics which has come to the fore as a factor guaranteeing the security of a given country. Now the political guarantees are becoming much more important than the military factors as far as security is concerned, he said.

Pointing out that bilateral treaties and the promotion of mutual relations are another important factor in this respect, Dr. Zhelev said that the chiefs of the General Staffs of the two countries' Armed Forces would soon exchange visits and that a number of bilateral contacts would be established on different levels by military and civil specialists. I think that these are factors which will eliminate the danger of war and wipe out the opinion that Turkey carries a military threat, President Zhelev said.

Yesterday HURRIYET published a resume of the interview the Bulgarian president gave to the paper's special correspondents in Sofia. Attention is focussed on Dr. Zhelev's position on Bulgaro- Turkish relations and on the situation of the "Turkish minority in Bulgaria."

According to the Turkish journalists President Zhelev pointed out that the restoration of the Turks' names would be followed by the restoration of the other rights of the Turkish minority. Turkish will be studied as an optional subject at school (four classes a week). At the end of this month the Movement for Rights and Freedoms will start publishing a newspaper in which texts in the Turkish language will prevail. Specialists for preparing textbooks in Turkish are sought.

Indictments Announced Against Zhivkov, Balev

AU1112203890 Sofia BTA in English 1935 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—On December 7, 1990 the Prosecuting Magistracy of the Republic presented the indictment and the findings of the investigation against Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev to the Supreme Court, it is said in the announcement of the Prosecuting Magistracy.

According to the Prosecuting Magistracy the former No. 1 and his "right hand" are charged with especially gross embezzlement. In the 1962-1989 period, exceeding his authority and rights, Mr. Zhivkov embezzled 26 million and 500 thousand leva for his own and for other person's use, it is said in the announcement.

The announcement mentions concrete facts. On Todor Zhivkov's personal instructions and on the basis of documents signed by him Western motor cars were sold to high ranking party and state functionaries, large amounts of "table-money" were illegally allotted, flats were given away, members of his family were illegally provided with security guards. Large amounts of money were paid to "nurses, rehabilitation therapists, air-hostesses and other persons who attended Zhivkov in person", the Prosecuting Magistracy announces.

Mr. Zhivkov is accused of receiving illegally fees for his numerous works publi ied at home and abroad. It has been an open secret that the voluminous publications signed by him were actually authored by special teams composed of scientists and assistants of Todor Zhivkov's.

Mr. Zhivkov's closest aide, Milko Balev, is also indicted of illegal receipt of "royalties". Besides Mr. Balev is accused of breaking currency laws—he "gave away" to his son nine thousand dollars without the permission of the minister of finance and without paying any taxes on the donation.

The Prosecuting Magistracy has opened investigation to find out the culprits for the crisis in agriculture, for the misproportions in the economy, the harmful construction of inexpedient industrial projects, the disruption of the ecological balance in the country and the catastrophic growth of the foreign debt.

Students Call Off Month-Long National Strike

AU1212091990 Sofia BTA in English 2319 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—This evening a representative of the students' strike committee declared that the national students' strike was called off. It was the second sit-in strike of the students this year and lasted for more than a month.

The active students' protests were one of the causes for the fall of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's one-party socialist government. At the beginning of November the students raised trade union and political demands insisting that the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party should admit its responsibility for the crisis and give up its property, that legal proceedings should be initiated against the culprits for the crisis, that the archives should be opened. There were sit-in strikes at more than 90 percent of the higher education establishments in the country. As the political forces will soon sign an agreement which includes the settlement of these problems and as the opposition gave guarantees that the students' demands will be met, the students called off their effective strike. For the time being they will be on the strike alert.

Sofia Airport Workers Cease Strike Activities

AU1112144290 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] On 7 December 1990, as a result of negotiations, a protocol agreement was signed between the Independent Trade Union of Sofia Airport Workers and Employees, member of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, and Engineer K. Botev, general director of the "Balkan" Bulgarian Civil Airline Company. Strike actions are called off, but the workers remain in a state of readiness to strike until the accords of the agreement are fulfilled.

Government Adopts Measures on Foodstuffs Supply

AU1012141990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Governmental Measures"]

[Text] Sofia, 5 Dec (BTA)—The Council of Ministers reviewed and adopted measures related to certain urgent issues, related to resolving the pressing needs of the national economy and society.

Issues related to feeding livestock and supplying the population, especially in the big cities, with meat and milk were discussed. Feeding of livestock in the industrial animal breeding farms until 20 December was ensured by unblocking the state reserves of fodder grain. Measures related to accelerating the supply of 300,000 metric tonnes of grain from France, were adopted.

On 7 December the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry will convene a conference with representatives of the basic supplying companies to discuss the decreasing supplies of milk and meat in Sofia and other major cities. It was decided that the dotations from the state budget, related to the new purchase prices, will not be paid if contracted obligations of the companies to the major consumer centers are not implemented. Negotiations on importing meat from the EEC are conducted with a view to normalizing the market.

The Council of Ministers reviewed the state of power supply capacity and the supply of mazut for the national economy until the end of the year.

The situation with the supply of liquid fuels is especially grave and will deteriorate during the period of 10-20 December. Liquid fuels will be used first of all to ensure heating for the population, hospitals, children's establishments, and schools, to ensure bread production, milk processing, and other productions and activities related to the population's social needs.

The government turned to the USSR Council of Ministers with a request for additional quantities of oil, that is in addition to the approved schedule for December 1990. Competent ministries and organizations are negotiating to accelerate the supply of oil and mazut from Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Libya.

Because of the complex situation with the fuels, the Council of Ministers appeals for utilizing all possibilities for saving energy and fuels, in order to give priority to satisfying the needs of the population.

Party Differences on Land Reform Surveyed

AU1112134490 Sofia BTA in English 1156 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliament has undertaken the obligation to pass a land act by the end of the year. The parliamentary commission on the agrarian reform has received seven drafts of this law.

The commission has already prepared its draft.

What is most important in the drafts of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and of the two agrarian parties are the possibilities envisaged in them for the emergence of private farms, but not of petty producers, as was the case in Bulgaria before World War II.

The opinion that the new land act should not lead to the fragmentation of Bulgaria's agriculture is also defended by the prominent Bulgarian economist and adviser of the president on economic issues Prof. Lyuben Berov. According to him larger farms and family farms have the greatest prospects in Bulgaria.

According to Prof. Berov the division between the political forces on the land issue are not fortuitous—at this point they reflect the differences in their stands.

The first division is on the issue of the free land market in the first three or five years after the launching of the reform. Some opposition circles believe that in this period there should be no land market because this would give the greatest chances to the owners of so-called "dirty money."

The interests of the different political forces also collide on the issue of the fate of the lands on which no one has claims. When the time comes to return the land to its owners, many of those who owned land before the nationalization will not claim it. There are whole families who have no heirs or who have emigrated. There are also others who do not wish to engage in farming. Some have no documents to prove their ownership of the land.

These "no man's" lands is now being farmed by the farm cooperatives established in the fifties (not always on a voluntary basis). Both the united opposition and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party are against the leaving of these lands within the framework of the farm cooperatives. The SDS proposes that they be included in a state land fund from which land will be given to those who want to farm it but do not wish to own it.

There will also be disputes on the issue of farm machinery. It has been bought with the money of the state but has not been taken good care of. The solutions may vary to auction it or to give it to eventual future joint-stock or cooperative organizations. The draft of the parliamentary commission does not provide a solution to this problem.

Assembly Soon To Use Electronic Voting System

AU1112142590

[Editorial Report] Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian on 10 November carries on pages 1 and 2 a 600-word report by Mitko Bozhkov on an electronic voting system recently installed in the National Assembly in Sofia. Bozhkov says that the system will be tested on Tuesday 11 November and "may be used for the first time this week."

Bozhkov states that "the system, manufactured by the German company Breller Konferenz Technik, was purchased by the People's Palace of Culture in 1985 for about $78,000 in 1985," but never installed. He explains that a private company "Reproko," headed by a third-year physics student at Sofia University, designed the

software programs and adapted the system in record time, while two engineers from the People's Palace of Culture are responsible for system design and applications. The system is being leased to the National Assembly for 1,000 leva a month.

According to Bozhkov, "in the large hall there are 215 voting sites: 210 on the parliamentary benches, four at the chairman's table, and one at the speaker's desk." When voting, each member of parliament must insert his personal identification card in the machine for verification and then press one of three buttons—"for," "against," and "abstain"—which light up for open voting, but remain extinguished in secret votes. Bozhkov adds that "in the case of voting by name...the illuminated displays will record the names of the members and how they vote." Two display boards on the right and left of the platform will show the total number of voters, the numbers of votes for and against, and the number of abstentions. According to Bozhkov, the whole system, which includes printers, is controlled by a computer operator at the central Pravets 16 computer.

ASO Discusses Cooperation With Social Democrats

AU1012182590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Regardless of the pressure exerted by both the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO] is firmly resolved to defend its center position.

We will further pursue our efforts for the establishment of a left-wing democratic center in Bulgaria. This was declared by Manol Manolov, ASO chairman, at a news conference of ASO outside the BSP.

The news conference took place on the occasion of the Association's first anniversary. Currently, ASO has approximately 5,000 members. Part of the Political Council members have not left the BSP. This is because the organization is an association in which all supporters of the socialist idea are welcome to participate.

ASO sees its natural ally in the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and this is confirmed by unofficial contacts between ASO representatives and Dr. Petur Dertliev. ASO does not exclude the possibility of participating in a joint bloc with the Social Democratic Party in future elections, provided that the party leaves the SDS.

Manol Manolov, ASO chairman, defined the task of radicals within the BSP as [word indistinct] and according to his words, their efforts would not be wasted if people remaining within the BSP could change.

As far as the new government is concerned, it will not be successful unless it prevails over the local nomenklatura. This is ASO's opinion.

The dispute between ASO and the other ASO members who are still within the BSP about the banking account and the newspaper has not been settled as yet. We would not like things to go so far, but if it becomes necessary, we shall defend our interests in court, Manol Manolov declared.

New 'Business Bloc' Party Established

AU1012201890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] A new right-wing party was established in Bulgaria today. The party assumed the popular name, Bulgarian Business Bloc. According to the party's statute, it is a political organization for supporters of free enterprise who believe in the values of liberalism, economic democracy, democratic progress, for people who respect the individual and his natural rights and freedoms.

At the beginning of the party's constituent congress which was held at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia today, the participants were submitted a draft program declaration of the bloc and a draft statute.

The ensuing debates showed that, irrespective of the businessmen's common interests, their views on the nature of the political organization of private enterprise are far from always coinciding.

The pending problems are expected to be clarified and settled at the forthcoming first congress of the Bulgarian Business Bloc, which is expected to take place on 26 January 1991.

Until that date the bloc will have its own provisional leadership, a chairman, an executive and a control council, the election of which is currently in progress.

Independent TU Leader Petkov Meets Popov

AU1112164590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] On Sunday, 9 December Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] met with Mr. Dimitur Popov at the latter's invitation. The main subject of discussion was the chances of forming a government which would obtain wide political and parliamentary support. Stress was laid on the fact that it was particularly important that the future government should be supported by the trade unions as well. Mr. Popov stated that he will insist that the government maintain a continuous dialogue with the trade unions and will be also ready to negotiate on the issues embodied in the general agreement which have so far not been resolved. The two sides shared the view that the trade unions can and must cooperate to create conditions for guaranteeing social peace in the country. Dialogue is also necessary on developing as a lasting institution the social partnership between the government, employers, and trade unions, as a condition for social peace and constructive cooperation.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov stated that the KNSB Executive Committee and Coordinating Council will express their official viewpoint regarding the composition and, most of all, the program of the new government. He emphasized that a strong working government will naturally win the support of the KNSB at the national level, but

that for it to be supported by the workers, it must make an immediate start on resolving the urgent problems faced in the enterprises. To further specify these issues, it was agreed that Mr. Popov would meet representatives of the KNSB leadership next week.

Podkrepa Answers Beron's Challenge to Trenchev

AU1212091590 Sofia BTA in English 2302 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—Beron's challenging Konstantin Trenchev (the leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation) is an instigation to commit a crime, it is said in the statement of the Podkrepa leadership which was made public today. Yesterday Mr. Petur Beron insisted that Mr. Trenchev must immediately tell who gave him the documents incriminating the former opposition leader as an informer of the secret services. Dr. Beron also said that if Mr. Trenchev did not show the records in question, he would consider him a liar and slanderer.

It is pointed out in Podkrepa's statement that at the moment the confederation has got to tackle important problems of living standards, social welfare and attracting aid from abroad, therefore it has no time to waste on the insults and qualifications of the former opposition leader.

Power Supply Workers' Announce 'Japanese Strike'

AU1212085290 Sofia BTA in English 2256 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—After the expiry of the law-prescribed seven-day time limit, the workers engaged in power engineering, who until now were on a token strike, will proceed with a strike of the "Japanese type," will declare a total boycott and will not carry out administrative orders except in cases of some accident. This decision has been made at the general national conference of all strike committees in this sector and its adoption was prompted by the "stubborn refusal" of the leadership of the Power Engineering Committee to resign, the strikers said.

All enterprises which are not directly engaged in power generation, the distribution and the supply of electric power will take up effective actions. The participants in the "Japanese strike" will strictly observe all regulations and instructions concerning labour safety, the technical exploitation, the repair and maintenance of the power plants. Heat-supply to residential buildings will not be stopped, but the thermal energy supplied to industrial enterprises will be reduced depending on the concrete technology applied there.

The activity of the present leadership of the Power Engineering Committee "ensured" the present deep energy crisis which has a serious impact on the country's economic life with all grave political and economic consequences ensuing fom it, the participants in the conference said. In the strikers' opinion it is inadmissible to deprive the population of such basic conveniences as lighting and heating, thus trying to "save the ruined power engineering." "The resignation of the leadership of this sector is a guarantee that the process of renewal in power engineering will be given a start," they stated.

Police Concerned Over Rise in Vietnamese Crime

AU1212122590 Sofia BTA in English 1058 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec (BTA)—Yesterday Vietnamese citizens beat up a policeman who tried to arrest one of them for black marketing. In this connection today's dailies point out that of late such incidents have become quite frequent in the vicinity of the Vietnamese hostels where prostitution and speculation are flourishing. A few days ago the windows of a police patrol car were broken.

Today a representative of the Sofia Police Department expressed on the national radio his concern over the growing number of criminal offences, economic crimes and reports of disorderly conduct in which Vietnamese are involved. The increasing speculation with goods in short supply in the market is especially alarming.

The law enforcement units face serious difficulties because the Vietnamese are usually aggressive and refuse to obey. They are often organized in gangs.

The representative of the Sofia Police Department yesterday announced that apart from the incident with the policeman, there was a fight between Vietnamese and some Bulgarians who had gone to a Vietnamese hostel to buy some goods.

The Vietnamese citizens are working in Bulgaria under an agreement signed between the two countries. There are transport problems that hinder their departure from Bulgaria. However, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently announced that a schedule for the departure of 20,000 Vietnamese by 1992 has already been worked out.

Gas Supplies Limited for Private, Official Cars

AU1112194990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Evgeni Popov, head of Gasoline Stations Department at Sofia's "Petroleum" State Enterprise, announced that the sale of petroleum and other liquid fuels for all private and state vehicles until the end of the week has been stopped. This decision has been coordinated with Sofia City People's Council. The measure has been adopted to ensure the minimum needs of the city for regular supply of bread, dairy products, and other foodstuffs, as well as to ensure functioning of medical services and emergency wards.

The necessary quantity of petroleum will be allocated for the city transportation and emergency vehicles.

Lukanov Receives Visiting Kuwaiti Delegation

AU1112201190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] On 11 December Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the delegation of the National Assembly of Kuwait lead by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ghunim, general secretary of the Assembly.

The delegation expressed the gratitude of the Kuwaiti people for the firm position of the Bulgarian Government and people on the issue of defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

Andrey Lukanov confirmed that Bulgaria's position on this issue is a matter of principle and is not based on ad hoc considerations. Therefore, our country shall further support the efforts of the UN and the world public to eliminate the crisis in the Persian Gulf and restore Kuwait's independence and legal government.

News Conference Reported

AU1112201390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] On 11 December at the People's Palace of Culture the delegation of Kuwait's National Assembly gave a news conference on the results of its visit to Bulgaria and the talks with Bulgarian officials and representatives of the political forces.

Mr. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ghunim, leader of the delegation, expressed satisfaction with our country's support of the just cause of the Kuwaiti people and their right to sovereignty, as well as with our country's principled position on resolving the Persian Gulf crisis in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions.

Special attention was paid to the state of bilateral relations.

Delegates Meet Party Leaders

AU1212091790 Sofia BTA in English 2306 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—The delegation of the National Congress of Kuwait has been assured once again that Bulgaria will continue to support the efforts of the United Nations and the world public for overcoming the gulf crisis and for the restoration of the independent state of Kuwait under the leadership of the country's legitimate government.

The Kuwaiti delegation is paying a visit here to express gratitude for the position on the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait Bulgaria took up at the very beginning of the crisis—a position supported by all political forces in this country.

Today the guests had meetings with Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov and with the leaders of the major political forces: Mr. Aleksandur Lilov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Mr. Filip Dimitrov of the Union of Democratic Forces, Mr. Ahmed Dogan of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and with Mr. Viktor Vulkov of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

At the talks the two sides discussed the cooperation between Bulgaria and Kuwait after the restoration of the independence of the latter and the possibility for Kuwaiti investments in Bulgaria. At the news conference held with the delegation of Kuwait it was announced that the question of rendering financial assistance to Bulgaria as a country which had been severely hit by the gulf crisis would be raised before the leaders of Kuwait.

The members of the delegation expressed their hope that Iraq would obey law and justice and would not force the world into waging a war. In their opinion the crisis still can be settled by peaceful means.

Lukanov Discusses Loans With IMF Delegation

AU1112204090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] On 11 December Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the delegation of the IMF, which arrived in Bulgaria for the final talks on the agreement on granting an IMF stabilizing loan to Bulgaria.

During the talks it was pointed out that despite the complex political situation in our country, it is necessary to accelerate signing the agreement, because the further development of relations between Bulgaria and the international currency system and receiving international financial assistance for our reforms depend on the agreement.

Andrey Lukanov reported that an agreement has been reached with the chairman of the Republic, the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and the leaderships of the basic political forces on forming a representative team of experts from the Presidency, the government, and the parliament, which will conduct the final negotiation. This proposal was accepted by the IMF delegation.

Certain specific issues related to our future cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank also were discussed. The talks with the IMF delegation will continue for about two weeks.

Zhelev Congragulates Poland's Walesa on Election

AU1112203790 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Dec (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev has sent a cable to Mr. Lech Walesa congratulating him on his election as president of Poland.

I avail myself of the opportunity to express my conviction that the adherence of Bulgaria and Poland to the European democratic values untaps new possibilities for the development of the traditional friendly relations between the two countries and the two peoples, it is said in the cable.

Pithart Comments on Czech, Slovak Talks in Prague

LD0612231190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar held talks in Prague today. In the late afternoon, both prime ministers arrived at the Federal Assembly building. Vladimir Meciar and then Petr Pithart held talks with Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly. The talks were held behind closed doors.

Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart gave the following statement to Czechoslovak radio about today's meeting of the two prime ministers of republican governments:

[Begin Pithart recording] Yesterday the Czech Government discussed the possible situation if the Federal Assembly did not endorse the law on division of powers or endorsed it with some significant amendments. Because we believed we had to know the view of the Slovak political representation, we offered yesterday to go to Bratislava. What happened was that the extended Presidium of the Slovak Government and representatives of all coalition parties have come today, and in these hours we are continuing with the clarification of what could happen if the Federal Assembly decides as I mentioned earlier. We think the situation is not predetermined in any way or fatal, because there is still a possibility of creating individual groups in the Federal Assembly. We therefore do not think any result at the moment is predetermined; however, we are concerned to see that everything turns out in such a way that the common stage is preserved.

If it seems that I am scare-mongering, it would be enough to quote today's Democratic Party daily CAS which is drafting a certain solution should the Federal Assembly be critical of the proposal put forward by the two National Councils, and this describes a certain scenario. [end recording]

Slovak Representatives Decline Comment on Talks

LD0712123690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] The extended presidia of the governments of the Czech and Slovak Republics met in Prague yesterday [6 December].

Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said after the talks that both sides sought the optimal ways of coexistence in the same joint state in such a way that extreme variants could be avoided.

Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said that he would not make any comments until Tuesday [11 December]

Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek held talks with the representatives of both national governments. According to the Slovak Government, it is necessary prior to the parliamentary vote on a power division law to consult each other and find out what differences and changes there are. The representatives of the governments discovered about four to six differences and are discussing the meaning of each.

Jan Carnogursky, first deputy prime Minister of the Slovak Government, said that the Slovak delegation wants to get the situation clarified in Prague. He refused to answer whether the federation is in jeopardy. He only said that nothing has been decided nor an attempt made on any decision making. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar also refused to say anything about the talks with Dubcek.

Just before the Slovak delegation left Dubcek's office, journalists were turned away and were forbidden to the photographs. Some time afterwards, Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart left the office and spoke to journalists. "We are concerned about preserving the common state," he said. According to Pithart, the situation is not yet predetermined. There is still a possibility of addressing individual clubs in the Federal Assembly.

Federal Assembly Committees Discuss Powers Law

LD0712221390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] The Federal Assembly deputies sitting in committees discussed the law on division of powers and the document on fundamental human rights and freedoms today in Prague.

The Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees of the two chambers compared two bills of the law on powers—one approved by the Czech National Council and the other one by the Slovak National Council.

According to Ernest Valko, joint rapporteur of the two committees, both bills have equal standing and it is not possible to consider one as an original proposal and the other one as a counterproposal. He noted that the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees are seeking to synchronize both concepts in order to be able to put forward a single bill to the Federal Assembly plenum.

Ernest Valko noted that the two bills differed in six points. Other requests for amendments were put forward by individual committees of our supreme legislative body.

Meciar, Officials React to Power-Sharing Debates

LD0912031690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] Yesterday, we broadcast speeches by Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko and Prime Ministers Vladimir Meciar and Petr Pithart.

We heard that the adoption of the power-sharing led by the Federal Assembly was under threat and that the representatives of the Slovak National Coalition were to meet today. Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa was also supposed to attend.

The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and Public Against Violence [VPN] held their separate sessions, within the framwork of the Slovak councils of the two movements.

We interviewed Fedor Gal [VPN], Ivan Carnogursky [KDH], and Slovak Prime Minister Meciar.

[Begin recording] [Gal] Prime Minister Calfa was given a choice, but because of the lack of time he was unable to attend both, yesterday's or today's deliberations. Yesterday the VPN club of ministers held a session on all key problems of the current period. I think that discussion does not concentrate on technical details but on principles, the concept of the federation, and ways of building it. Yesterday, our discussion was totally open, and today, at the VPN Slovak Council, we agreed that specific legal impact, consequences of the current situation cannot be sustained without the presence of those people involved.

In the next few days, a new PAV Slovak Council will be convened, and it will tacle the problem of relations between the Slovak Government and Federal Government, but I would like to assure you that all of us are tackling problems—the one through conflict, the other through dialogue—we prefer the latter.

[Carnogursky] I do not think the conflict emerged only yesterday. The conflict has been gradually accumulating for some time now, and its substance is a different concept of the federation.

A certain, very strong group in Prague—among the leaders of which are, let us say, Minister Klaus, and similarly Minister Dlouhy—with very effective help from Prime Minister Calfa, that understands the existence of the federation as a centralized, strong state, with one partner relationship toward the outside world and one strong leader or administrator within the republic.

The Slovaks are, understandably, of a different opinion, and now, in the context of deliberations about power-sharing when it has to be said clearly who will be in charge of what, now it became very heated after all and culminated in a conflict.

[Gal] I think that what is at stake this time is the substance which should be solved sooner or later. I think it would be better if we solve it as soon as possible.

The second way—to postpone it and give it a final form later in the final constitutions of the republics and in the eventual constitution of the Federation or other forms of cooperation between these two republics which we put forward to the Federal Assembly—I consider it in the given situation to be unnecessary postponing.

[Meciar] To put the question of power-sharing against the question of reform is politically absurd. We do not support nationalism because we distance ourselves from it and also because in the Federal Government there are representatives of the national movement who are also from the Slovak Republic. Therefore, it is the question of practical implementation of politics that some steps which have been taken recently, as well as not so long ago, were different. It seems to us that some members of the Federal Government are using two tape measures. With one, they measure how the others behave, for instance a recent factual call on the Slovak Government to resign accusing it with no reason at all of doing bad things. On the other hand, there was a chaotic reaction when the Slovak Government dared to criticize them without calling for their resignation, for partial political mistakes. These mistakes are obvious, and I am not going to change my stand on this as they can be shown.

There are some arguments on which I feel a bit naive. For instance, I am very glad that the IMF representatives who speak English understand perfectly Slovak from the radio and immediately destabilize the situation in the IMF. If we reacted to some things from our Slovak side, this is also because at the session of the Slovak National Council that day we made a very critical analysis of the factors which apart from the political ones were caused also by management mistakes of specific persons in the sphere of economy, financing activities of (?industry) branches. We reacted to it by saying that there has to be a priority and balance of decison-making equal for the two republics. [end recording]

Klaus Explains Civic Forum Principles, Program

LD1012032190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Excerpt] The two-day working session of Civic Forum [OF] representatives, which ended in Olomouc today, appeared to be a key meeting before the republican congress of OF, to be held in January.

The session was held in an atmosphere of tension which had arisen over the issue of the constitutional set-up of our state. That is why its participants listened with great interest to the address by Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of Public Against Violence, who said among other things:

[Begin Gal recording, in Slovak] We deeply respect the deputies of both the Slovak National Council and the Czech National Council, and we are convinced that the deputies of the Federal Assembly are aware of the responsibility which at this moment lies in their hands. On my behalf and on behalf of my friends, I can say that we are fully aware of the fact that any pressure and any demagogy do not serve any useful purpose to our interests. At the same time, I would be glad if we all realized that what is at stake at the moment is the philosophy and the principles of the new understanding of our federation. It is a matter of great concern to us that no doubt is cast on these. [end recording]

Conflicting views emerged from the discussion on the future of OF on whether it will be a right-wing party with a firm program or a movement with pluralistic views. The results of the meeting, approved by a majority of its participants, recommend principles of a political program that envisage the creation of a political party with clearly outlined views and without any side streams. OF Chairman Vaclav Klaus voiced his views on this issue at a news conference:

[Begin Klaus recording] The very clear way out that we want to put forward is individual membership of our future party, not a collective one. In other words, the way out is the individual membership, which is the first principle, so there is no need to rule out any political subparties or whatever you could call these groups. The membership is individual and is conditional on agreeing with the manifesto and political principles of our party. In other words, it is not necessary to seek in this the issue of our party's relation to groups, subparties, parties, movements, bodies, or organizations. Our position is, very simply, that the membership is individual. [end recording] [passage omitted]

VPN Movement Issues Statement on Power Sharing

LD0912152190 Prague CTK in English 1454 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 9 (CTK)—The Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement last night called on the deputies in the Federal parliament to act responsibly in backing the approval of the bill on power sharing between the federation and the republics, worked out by the three governments.

In a statement passed at its session here, the VPN warned that delays in discussing the bill or possible failure to pass it would lead to a deep crisis in society and would have unforeseeable consequences.

The bill on the division of powers between federal and Czech and Slovak bodies has been drafted during almost six months of talks of the three governments, the political movements and executive and legislative bodies of the federation, the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

The VPN statement said the approval of the bill is an indispensable step on the basis of which the entire economic transformation of this country will develop from the start of next year.

Referring to the points of contention between the Slovak and the Federal Government as regards the question of powers, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar who was also present said "We do not intend to change anything on or withdraw from our positions."

The session called a regular congress of the VPN to Poprad, the high Tatras, at the end of February.

Slovak Parties To Unite Against Federal Bodies

AU0912201090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 6 Dec 90 p 1

["bjn"-signed report: "Bratislava in Expectation of the Debate on Power-Sharing; Slovaks Are Having Problems With What Constitutes an Acceptable Compromise"]

[Text] At yesterday's news conference in the Bratislava headquarters of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, Democratic Party Central Secretary Peter Missik announced the holding of major political consultations. The representatives of all political movements and parties in Slovakia, including those which are not represented in the government coalition and in the parliaments, will meet in Bratislava on Thursday. Asked whether Prime Minister V. Meciar would take part in these talks, Peter Missik replied that he will do so with pleasure. The consultative meeting will not only involve an exchange of views and positions on the upcoming discussion of the so-called power-sharing bill in the Federal Assembly but its basic aim, given the present situation, is to move closer together even those political parties which otherwise do not have much in common. The aim is to form the widest possible Slovak front united under the banner of national interests in the struggle against Pragocentrism and the federal bureaucracy, as Bratislava calls them. Another aim of the meeting is to clarify which compromises Slovakia is ready to accept as far as the power-sharing bill is concerned. By holding these consultations, the government coalition shows, on the one hand, its good will and, on the other, wants to share political responsibility. On Tuesday [4 December], in the remarks made by F. Miklosko and V. Meciar during intermissions in the Slovak Government session, it was possible to discern indications of a certain flexibility. On the other hand, there are also views being presented in Bratislava which are so rigid that, in the case of their clash with different views in the Federal Assembly, controversies might ensue which would have a direct impact on domestic political stability and the international reputation of the state. Official Bratislava is with increasing sensitivity getting ready for a situation in which the discussion of the power-sharing bill in the Federal Assembly would encroach, in particular, upon Slovakia's economic ideas. Asked by the HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent yesterday whether a situation could arise in which Slovakia would leave the federation, a leading figure of one of the parties of the Bratislava government coalition who does not wish to be named did not rule out such a possibility. In an atmosphere which is heavy with emotions it is impossible to clearly distinguish between what is part and parcel of the tactics of political struggle and what could be a rationally considered political decision for any alternative.

VPN Urges Parliament To Pass Power Bill

AU1112125090 Prague CTK in English 1450 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 9 (CTK)—The Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement last night

called on the deputies in the federal parliament to act responsibly in backing the approval of the bill on power sharing between the federation and the republics, worked out by the three governments.

In a statement passed at its session here, the VPN warned that delays in discussing the bill or possible failure to pass it would lead to a deep crisis in society and would have unforeseeable consequences.

The bill on the division of powers between federal and Czech and Slovak bodies has been drafted during almost six months of talks of the three governments, the political movements and executive and legislative bodies of the federation, the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

The VPN statement said the approval of the bill is an indispensable step on the basis of which the entire economic transformation of this country will develop from the start of next year.

Referring to the points of contention between the Slovak and the Federal Governments as regards the question of powers, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar who was also present said "We do not intend to change anything on or withdraw from our positions."

The session called a regular congress of the VPN to Poprad in the High Tatras at the end of February.

Meciar Speaks on Federation, Economic Reform

LD0912234790 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1821 GMT 9 Dec 90

["The Slovak Prime Minister Speaks": talk by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [First 90 seconds missing due to technical fault] another part does not take sufficiently into account the fact that the federation is formed by the union of two subjects with equal rights, two republics. They have to discuss things not on the basis of which one of them has more or fewer citizens but on the basis of being two equal partners. They have to be able to achieve the implementation of their interests and needs for both equally. Any other structure would weaken our common state and that is why the Slovak side has paid great attention to these questions.

When discussing the questions of the common establishment of the state of the Czech and Slovaks we come across a principle which leads to different concepts. There are also such people who think that a common state on the basis of two republics is not satisfying and that there should be a firm unitary [unitarny] state. We have never identified with this principle. The strength of the state in which more nations live, in which everyone's specific and singular features have to be respected, is not based on our having made everything equal. Its strength is based on how we manage to understand the singular and specific character of the interests and harmonize what is common. We also have to express this in our state structure.

Nowadays arguments are brought up again about Slovakia's interests getting into conflict with economic reform and allegedly slowing the whole process down. This is not true. Those who say so are mistaken. I am deeply convinced that I am right. I can support it by several facts.

The first thing is that Slovakia is nowadays capable of living on what it produces by itself. It does not depend on some kind of redistribution. If the principle that what is produced on our territory is going to be distributed here is applied consistently then we do not need contributions and gifts. That is why this is not what leads us toward coexistence and the joint search for ways to reach our goals.

We base our economic reform on several views. The first is that in order for the reform to be successful it needs vital cogs—that is, the structures of state administration which will be capable of implementing the reform. The old state administration is not capable of this.

The second factor which is important and which no one wants to understand from our point of view is that it is not possible to carry out economic reforms without respecting regional specifics. The infrastructures which are necessary for industrial development are developed equally in Bohemia and Slovakia. If we want to concentrate everything in one management complex, on one level, it is not because we wish to be powerful or dream about decisionmaking but because networks have to be directed toward the enterprises with which they are linked, with villages for which they represent vital lifelines. These cannot be separated.

If everything is on different levels [words indistinct] disharmony, disunity or interests and conflicts.

In a federation it is possible to create a sufficiently wide channel to ensure that whatever is unavoidable in the economic area for reform is a joint thing, and so that we find it and implement it. We have found it and implemented it. Today we have the bills on the Federal Assembly ready, or rather the draft bills, and the Slovak side is being accused of nervousness and incorrect reaction.

I would like to say that I did no violate any of the principles of silence. I always reacted later. I would also like to say that the Slovak National Council did not adopt any resolution about proclaiming the laws of the Slovak Republic as supreme. It is true that we had talks about what to do to help these bills to be adopted. It is true that we had talks about what would be done either if the bills were not adopted, or if they contained additions which would completely distort and change their content, so that they would in effect become meaningless.

Our fear is not groundless. We put forward a comprehensive project for the future federation to be assessed during the course of discussion by working commissions

and governments, but it was also assessed by political parties. A model for solving it was adopted and all three government prime ministers were empowered by their governments to close the issue by means of political compromise. This compromise took place. The standpoints in the compromise were respected by the governments of the Czech and Slovak Republics, but as soon as they were adopted and discussed they were questioned by the Federal Government. A new compromise was reached. Once again we respected it, it was respected by the government of the Slovak Republic and unchanged by the Slovak National Council. It was respected by the government of the Czech Republic, but it was not respected by the Czech National Council.

As far as the implementation of the rights of the Federal Assembly is concerned, it can always be said that the deputies implement their right to change laws. Yes, that is correct, that is their exclusive right. It is possible to approach these questions on the basis of formal legislative principles, that they have the right to decide, but it is also possible to approach them in the way that we understand them—that this was a political agreement, and compromise between all decisive political forces. Because we wish to respect agreements which have been reached so far, and that Slovakia intends to be bound by this, this is the only reason why our deputies in the Federal Assembly have so far not put forward counterproposals. We wish to fulfill our pledges honorably and conscientiously. We also wish to point out that, no matter what situation may arise, in every situation we gave assurances that we are interested in the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks and in a joint state. Not because we need it, but because the Czechs need it, and this must also be pointed out although it is being forgotten in the propaganda.

Many heated words have been expressed in discussions in recent days about Slovak policy which were very [word indistinct] qualified, and about me personally. As far as the mass media are concerned I would like to emphasize that I am not angry about them; I just feel sorry for them. Attempts have also been made recently to link my criticism of some members of the Federal Government with criticism aimed at the division of powers. This is not true. These things must be kept properly separate.

The immediate reason for my last criticism was something which has been repeated in a number of enterprises several times during the course of these six months, and it is once again manifesting itself today at the [word indistinct] coal mines. They did not receive funds promised from federal sources, on the grounds that from 1 January they will fall under the Slovak Government anyway. This is unfair to the miners and their families. The miners are protesting. We are trying to have the matter corrected, and if we cannot reach agreement then we will resort to public criticism. I would not like to see them fulfilling their warning that they will demonstrate on Wenceslas Square, but if they have no other way out, they are our citizens, I am one of them, and my place is with them, even though some of my colleagues will be angry with me for speaking openly.

Esteemed fellow citizens of both republics: Our joint state is our joint wealth. If we are rebuilding it, then it is in order to make sure that there is room for everyone within it, for Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, German, Pole, or Ukrainian. There will be no democracy without freedom, not just for the majority, but without freedom for all. This is why I beg you—let us protect it. Thank you.

Calfa Addresses Federal Assembly 11 Dec

LD1112195090 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1408 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Speech by Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa at the ninth joint session of the CSFR Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Text] Allow me within the framework of the discussion to express support for the proposed amendment of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation. I believe that after discussion and approval by all three governments and republic parliaments, we are nearing successful culmination to the efforts to set out the division of powers in our state. It is definitely high time for clear rules to be set out, so that we can fully devote ourselves to economic changes and responsible decision-making about them.

We have witnessed how much difficulty, explanations, and seeking an acceptable compromise accompanied the creation of the proposed amendment. It was precisely discussion about the division of powers which has since this summer caused the most ripples on the surface of our political life and public opinion. There are two reasons for this. Above all it is important how we secure the organization of the functioning of our state and order its legislative power. Secondly, no less important is the fact that these problems affect and the sensitive issues of relations between our nations and nationalities.

I presented the standpoint of the Federal Government on the constitutional setup of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic here in the Federal Assembly both in program statement and in my speech explaining the scenario of economic reform. The content of both speeches was based on the program which was given the most support by our citizens in free elections. What made the work easier was the general effort made to revise the then current largely centralist administrative constitutional setup. At the same time we always pointed out that, under present world economic and political conditions, there cannot be, for that very reason, economic and political losses which would have very grave consequences for citizens of the whole country. The desire for a joint state remains simply an unconfirmed declaration if it is not linked precisely with this viewpoint. Our young democracy is also looking for its form in the new system of relations between our nations. We are ridding ourselves of strong centralization on a federal

and republic level. We are looking for a new relationship between the citizen and the state and an expression of this relationship in the state system. We do not need republics in order to satisfy the interests of the politicians of the republics; we do not need the federation in order to satisfy the interests of federal politicians. After all, the very division into republican and federal politicians is in its essence false and mistaken. There is no such thing. [applause]

There are only federal and republic organs led by political representative bodies which emerged from free elections. We do not understand the federation to be in conflict with the ideas of strong republics. Our goal is a state with a high international authority and with an internal system which would satisfy the needs of the people living within it. The federation must bring benefit for both sides and its effectiveness should be greater than the simple addition of Slovak and Czech capacities. Viewed from this angle, any so-called conflicts over division of powers can only appear to us to be the search, although difficult, for an optimal system of relations.

Politics is the sphere of interests, but only the interests of our citizens can be the basis on which it is possible to reach agreement. The citizens of both republics understand the federation as a mutually beneficial linking of forces from which the citizens of both republics will gain the most. A Slovak, Czech, Hungarian, Pole, or Ruthenian, or any other members of any nationalities living in this country, must gain the maximum for their standard of living, security, and cultural development from the fact that we live in one state. [applause]

This is absolutely not in conflict with the decentralization of economic management and the state system, which will not, what is more, stop at the level of relations between the republics and the federation. We are building a modern, democratic, civic society. It is being built by the Federal Government, it is being build by the national governments and parliaments, it is being built by you, the deputies of the Federal Assembly. Removing bureaucracy from the economic management is not a question of limiting this management at the level of the federation and transferring its former powers to the organs of the republics. We do not remove bureaucracy by transferring it to another subject, but through the strength of mechanisms which economic reform must introduce into life. [applause]

The free market in which we find ourselves will also take away many duties from the republics, and will give them to entrepreneurs directly in enterprises, cooperatives, and other production lines. The state will not interfere in their decisionmaking. They will seek efficiency of their enterprise in the place where they are working within the framework of republics and the federation, as well as on an international level. Life itself will thus alter the conditions and will take away all the unnecessary emotions from us.

In the autumn I had plenty of opportunity to talk to people of various professions, ages, or views. These people clearly demonstrated interests in further economic development, in their own work, their salary, in prices, rents, their own lives. This is what our citizens understand to a considerable degree, and their representatives must perceive it as well.

As a Slovak politician, I have the fate of Slovakia at heart and I realize how important it is to proceed in harmony with the views of ordinary people. Despite certain demonstrations of suspicion and lack of understanding, it remains a positive feature that the overwhelming majority of people in our two republics look with hope at our common state. Their attention is not attracted by extremists' programs. They join their perspective unequivocally with the federal arrangement of our state by seeking ways to make it more efficient as a community of people who have an awareness of their state identity as a new expression of civilized society.

The new effective arrangement of a legal state will not be efficient only because we find in it a new quality of relations. This efficiency is connected with a perspective of broader integrated regions. The world and European communities count on Czechoslovakia as a united state, and their representatives remind us about this on every occasion.

I should like to mention one more thing. I read the allegation and I quote: Federation in its traditional form must be broken up and a new, completely different federation must be built on the ruins. End of quote. Sometimes they even say that a federation should be formed by the republics making an agreement. There are many positive things in these thoughts, but also many risks. In this connection Mrs. Buresova revived yet again the historical awareness that our state was born in 1918 as a unitarian state and in 1968 it was arranged as a federal state. Its international political position as a united state has not changed, however. That is why we cannot consider changes in the current arrangement, albeit considered in the form of three constitutions, as the creation of a new state whose form will be preordained by republican constitutions and confirmed by an agreement concluded between them.

It is my view that legislative bodies, which are the only ones vested with powers to adopt new constitutions and to express by their adoption the will of our citizens, nations, nationalities to live in a federal state, must decide on the constitutional arrangement of the CSFR and the division of powers between the federation and republics.

The new constitutional arrangement of our federation [applause], the new constitutional arrangement of our federation should be constitutionally-based and not agreement-based, because an agreement envisages a concensus of two sides, and this is a very fragile basis for the further existence of the 72-year old state.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen deputies, I shall not analyze here individual changes of powers, because enough has been said about them and we have had the opportunity to acquaint ourselves with them thoroughly. We have proceeded from the fact that it is necessary to decentralize powers, above all in such a way for them to make the implementation of economic changes possible. The sense of the amendment of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation is not to create or to take away here or there one, two, or three further departments or offices, but to make a better life for our people. Let us, from this point of view, view it and implement it.

The division of powers is being debated all the time—but this is only one side of the coin. The amendment of the bill means, however, and I draw your attention to this fact especially, a new division of responsibilities. The submitted daft is an essential and necessary step which we must take to be able to devote ourselves to work, at the end of which is a stable democratic state and people living a life which they wish.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen deputies, I recommend that the draft constitutional bill on the Czechoslovak federation be adopted in the text submitted by the Slovak National Council and amended, according to rapporteurs' report, by committee of the Federal Assembly. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Calfa Interviewed on Division of Powers

LD1212150590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by editor Michal Tvarozek at Federal Assembly building in Prague on 12 December—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Tvarozek] What is the situation like in the hall where debates are in progress now?

[Calfa] Naturally, many deputies are taking part in the debate. This is a topic which we have been debating for several months; it affects everyone, everyone feels that he should voice his view on it, and has also certain comments. However, as I have seen in the course of the discussion—the voicing of views, the certain generalization in expressing views on mutual coexistence, and far less voicing actual specific comments, there have been only a few of them indeed and thus they have been discussed. All this convinces me that parliament is in fact debating the concept of coexistence between the federation and republics and the specific, formal expression in the draft bill is no longer being so much attacks and that as I personally feel, it is being generally accepted as a possible way out for the further arrangement of these (?mutual) relations.

[Tvarozek] It is my impression, it was I should say, after yesterday—today does not confirm this impression of mine so much—that deputies are focusing more on emotional expression of their feelings. If we leave aside those literally extreme views—be it from the right or the left—one cay say that indeed there have been only very few specific, constructive ideas in support of individual stands, be in in support of this power-sharing bill or rejecting it.

[Calfa] Well, I have expressed my view on this, and I too view it as such. Frankly those emotions are understandable, this has been subjected to an exceptional attention of mass media for a number of months, many personalities—politicians and whole representations and so on—have expressed their views on it. Unfortunately, those expressions of views somewhat culminated in the days just before the debate. Thus the emotional flavour is here, one has to accept it and why not, after all. In my opening address, I said that we are in favor of adopting the draft text as submitted by the Slovak National Council because it is purely the text as it has been approved by the federal government too, with amendments as prepared by committees of the Federal Assembly.

[Tvarozek] Can I also ask you about your relationsip with Prime Minister Meciar who, as it is know, has spoken against you in a certain way and said that you should support more the Slovak, republican, views on matters than the federal views.

[Calfa] I would like to say one thing about this. Prime Minister Meciar has spoken, I have said what I wanted to say, thus please understand the following: life goes on, he is Slovak prime minister and I am federal prime minister. Things do happen—and I would wish very much indeed that in connection with the debate on this bill here we could view this as a finished because life goes on and the prime ministers have exceptionally complex tasks which they have to solve. For me it would be most advantageous to be able to say, for us to agree, that we have gone through and finished with this stage and that life goes on. Representatives of the Public Against Violence [VPN] have told me that it is necessary to examine on VPN terms the whole relationship between the Slovak and the federal government, as representatives of the same movement are heading both. I consider this quite natural and I believe that this should have been done in the past in such a way that simply if there were any questions in the first instance then they should have been dealt with politically and then, if necessary, reported—unfortunately this has been reported in mass media and thus those emotions have been evoked. Thus we should return to what is natural for parliamentary democracies and for proportional representation of political parties: if there are disputes between representatives of one political representation then there exists the political base inside which those matters should be resolved first. I support this. This has also been a proposal put forward by the VPN leadership and I consider this good and natural and useful, in my opinion.

Federal Assembly Adopts Power-Sharing Bill

LD1212161590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1538 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Just a few minutes ago the voting at the Federal Assembly on the proposed amendments to the draft division of powers bill ended. At this moment the deputies are voting on the draft bill as a whole.

The deputies elected to the Chamber of the Peoples are voting. There are 137 deputies present. This is a constitutional law and a three-fifths majority is required, which is 90 votes.

One hundred seventeen deputies of the Chamber of the People favor the draft division of powers bill, 12 deputies against, seven deputies abstained. So, this draft constitutional law was approved in the Chamber of the People.

And now the Chamber of Nations. Of the 70 deputies elected from the Slovak Republic 45 votes are needed; 62 voted in favor, that is 62 deputies, of adopting this bill, four are against, four have abstained. Again, from the 72 deputies present elected in the Czech Republic 45 votes are needed for the adoption of the bill.

You can now hear applause because the board shows 58 votes in favor. This means that at 1640 [1540 GMT] the constitional law has been approved by deputies of the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia See Democracy Crisis

LD0812132990 Prague CTK in English 1218 GMT 8 December 90

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—The communists of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia have said they regard the present crisis in Czechoslovakia as a crisis of democracy and the political system, which is reflected in relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks.

The executive committees of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and of the Communist Party of Slovakia-Democratic Left Party said in a joint statement last night that the present Federal Government has been reducing the extent and intensity of democratic processes started last November 17. "The trend is strengthening to completely halt them and replace them by authoritarian methods of the newly arising state bureaucracy which wants to concentrate decisive political and executive economic power in its hands," the statement said, warning that this jeopardized the sovereignty of the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

The statement suggested that a solution would be to adopt the document on the basic rights and freedom, as approved by the Slovak parliament, which does not restrict human rights in the economic, social, and cultural spheres, and to pass the platform of the philosophical settlement of the powers of the federation, as originally approved by a consensus of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments.

Rychetsky Speech Assesses Competence Law

AU0712083590 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Nov 90 p 3

[Jaroslav Smid report on speech by Pavel Rychetsky: "Three Budgets Will Remain Separate But Not mutually Independent; Competence—Controversies as Well as Accord"]

[Text] The questions of the competence of the republics and of the federation gain a new and much more profound meaning once the dozens of billions enter the picture by which the Slovak Government is short of a balanced budget. As the gasoline produced in Slovnaft [in Slovakia] and sold in Bohemia represents a revenue of 7 billion korunas for the Czech budget while the Slovak side claims that the income should belong to them, as the issue of the gas pipeline is being reopened, then the joint sessions of all three governments begun mid-August in Trencianske Teplice and concluded two weeks ago in Prague Hrzan palace obviously did not solve all the problems.

Therefore, it was with interest that I took part in a seminar organized this week for the Federal Assembly deputies, to whom in the nearest future the competence bill will be submitted for adoption. Deputy Federal Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky explained the competence model and its philosophy with respect to the future. First of all, the role of the state as the founder of enterprises on the federal level is eliminated in this model. It is transferred to the republics. Even after privatization, the role of the republic as a founder of enterprises will remain—particularly in the field of metallurgy, energy, and fuel mining. In the future, it is expected that even in these fields the republics will cease to be the enterprise founders. The state will only keep the role of a market organizer committed to creating conditions for its operation and of course it will keep the state administration and supervision.

For example, in transportation, the federation should have competence over decisions on the basic legal measures, on setting the general rules and principles of transport policy. It is assumed that the federation will only be in charge of the maritime and air transport, while the republics will be in charge of the other modes of transport. In communications, again, the federation will only decide on the rules and tariffs but, for instance, the postal systems will be administered by the republics.

A great debate arose on basis of the Article 4 of the bill, particularly with regard to the section containing the list of everything that should be the property of the republics: raw materials, minerals, water, communications, woods, land, etc. A conclusion was reached that so far it

is not possible to enumerate everything because the list cannot be complete, and there are specific disputes, as is the case of the river Morava, for instance, which forms a border between the republics, or the underground-water supply, the size of which is unknown, etc. Therefore, more general formulations will be used in the constitutional law and models suitable for the future will still be sought.

There was also a controversy over foreign relations. P. Rychetsky pointed out that international law recognizes only a single subject, i.e., a single state. Even if we included in the Constitution that the state in contact with other states may represent a part of itself—i.e., a republic—we would not change the international law. Therefore the republics should have the right to enter into international contracts and agreements again with parts of federal states and unions but not with the entire state.

As regards taxes, the turnover and excise taxes will be decided on the federal level. The basic features of other taxes will still be decided by the federation but the actual rules for the execution will be in the republic jurisdiction. Similar is the case with duty fees, while customs should be administered on the federal level.

Disputes regarding the concept of the bank of issue ended with a decision that there will be a single bank of issue headed by a governor with two deputies from the Czech and from the Slovak Republics. The board of the bank will also consist of an equal number of representatives from both republics. The governor is to be appointed alternately from each republic, although P. Rychetsky commented that he has never seen any constitution that would include such a specific feature.

Social policy may serve as a good example of opinion analogy. Here the governments were able to conclude that they all agree on a joint standpoint. The labor code will be prepared on the federal level, and the development in salaries will also be regulated here, as will be the minimum wage, pensions, and health insurance. Other matters, particularly the employment issues and retraining will be dealt with on the level of the republics.

On the other hand, no agreement was reached regarding the constitutional delimitation of the term "state of emergency." In part, because on 10 December the Federal Assembly is supposed to adopt the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms based on the international agreements on human rights and thereby it should be delimited which human rights and freedoms must not be threatened even upon declaration of a state of emergency. In this connection, the deputies asked about the rights of ethnic minorities living in the republics, and accordingly their problems should be dealt with by the respective republic. P. Rychetsky replied that the Charter of Human Rights will have the status of the federal constitutional law and therefore the republic laws can augment some rights but cannot limit them below the level specified in the Charter. Therefore, a federal constitutional court should be established, which would decide whether or not the Constitution is violated by adopting any further laws.

We began with the current problems with the budgets of the republics once again being discussed by the prime ministers. P. Rychetsky pointed out that the description of the budgets as mutually independent was eliminated from the original draft as well as the sentence that no redistribution is possible among the budgets. Namely, in some cases, the federation can provide funds for the national governments—as for instance, in the case of a natural disaster. Hence, the part of the constitutional law on competence states that the budgets will be separate. The republic legislative body will in each case decide how to use the budget of the republic. It is important, the federal deputy prime minister emphasized in the conclusion, that the competence law comes into effect immediately on 1 January, next year. That will provide a precondition for adoption of another independent law on state budget.

Meciar Interviewed on Nationalist Election Defeat

AU0912155390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Dec 90 p 13

[Reprint of an UJ SZO report on an interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar: "The Majority's Sobriety Triumphed"]

[Text] In reply to a question about the liberalization of prices the prime minister commented that "at the moment, it is impossible to know what the situation will be like following the real start of liberalization. Life alone will reveal this. As prime minister I can only promise that we will concentrate our interventions to reduce its impact on those sectors of the population that will be left the most to their own devices." First and foremost, he fears the greed of the directors of those enterprises that are still in a monopolistic position. About the plaintive defeat of the previously self-confident Slovak National Party [SNS] in the local elections, the prime minister said: "I cannot say anything except that their defeat is the logical outcome of what the SNS is doing—chasing society and the party toward crisis. In modern societies there is simply no room for the arousal of hatred. I hope that everything that has happened under the pretext of the language law—or rather, before the elections to local administrations—was the culmination of the struggle whipped up by nationalists. The hysteria surrounding the language law was merely a pretext for some people to forge their own political capital. Happily the majority's sobriety triumphed in this rating of political forces." He also expressed his opinion on the hunger strike: "Of course, I am pleased that the whole matter ended in a peaceful manner. I have to say, however, that I disagreed from the very beginning with the initiators of the hunger strike. I later definitely criticized them when it became apparent that the majority of them were carrying out a charade and were merely appearing to be on a hunger strike." In

reply to a question on where he had acquired this information from, the prime minister said: "From those doctors who took urine samples from them!" The editor asked the prime minister why the Slovak press had said nothing about this. The Slovak prime minister expressed the following opinion: "Do not ask me about this! They also do not say anything about why the hunger strikers met with representatives of the nationalist movements on No. 14 Zeleznicna Street. Since they really supported the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] why did they have these meetings? The development of the hunger strike provides proof for all of this."

Deputies Protest Against Muller Dismissal

AU0712110890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Better Explanation"]

[Text] Prague—Twenty-five personalities from our public and political life have expressed their dissatisfaction with the recall of Jiri Muller from his post as director of the Interior Ministry Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and have also stated their dissatisfaction with the reasons given by the interior minister for this decision in an open letter addressed to Interior Minister Jan Langos.

Among the signatories are Federal Assembly Deputies A. Blazek (Civic Forum), J. Kavan (Civic Forum), M. Tyl (Christian Democratic Union), P. Uhl (Civic Forum), J. Wagner (Civic Forum), V. Lastuvka, a member of the Czech National Council Presidium, Professor M. Jelinek, rector of Masaryk University, several LIDOVE NOVINY editors, and others. They highlight Jiri Muller's moral rectitude and they refer to the years he spent in prison and to the fact that he signed Charter 77. The signatories state that in justifying the dismissal Minister Langos did not mention the substance of the dispute raised by the former director, that is, whether the Federal Assembly or the Federal Government will be entrusted with supervising the Office. They are convinced that this Office should be controlled by the Federal Assembly as suggested by CSFR President Vaclav Havel and as asserted by Jiri Muller.

Trade Unions Complain of Curtailed Rights

LD0612171990 Prague CTK in English 1521 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—Trade unionists associated in the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions (CSKOS) went again on strike alert at noon today in support of their demands for unions' participation in the management and development of enterprises.

The strike alert was launched on November 28 but was suspended on December 3-6, i.e. at the time when the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) discussed new legislation on employees' and trade union rights.

However, the laws on employment and collective bargaining and an amendment to the labour code approve on December 4-5 were described by trade union representatives at a press conference here today as running counter to the 70-year-old development of trade union rights in Czechoslovakia.

Differing views on the laws' wording generated sharp tension between trade unions on the one side and the Czechoslovak Government and part of Czechoslovak parliament on the other side last month.

While a compromise was struck in drafting the bills on employment and collective bargaining, trade unions and the government failed to reach agreement on the employees' right to co-management of enterprises.

In the first stage of discussions the government agreed with incorporating it into an amended labour code, but later it deleted the respective article without advising the unions. Under the amendment, passed by parliament yesterday, employees have a right to be informed of the work of the enterprise and questions concerning its economy and development through trade union bodies.

Representatives of CSKOS, the biggest union organization in the country associated 65 trade unions with a membership of 6.5 million, accused at the press conference some parliament deputies that they intentionally take anti-union stands. The trade unionist officials claimed that the very existence of the trade union movement in Czechoslovakia was attacked when the vote was taken on the three draft laws.

According to chairman of the CSKOS biggest union associating 1.5 million metal workers Igor Pleskot, "The curtailing of trade union rights pushes us (trade unions) to confrontation which we do not want. This is realized by a number of political officials who abuse it."

A decision on the further course of action of CSKOS is to be made by its general council on December 17.

Reportage on President Havel's Visit to Spain

WA1212154590

For reportage on the visit by President Vaclav Havel to Spain, including reports on his talks with Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez and Foreign Minister Fernandez-Ordonez, please see the Spain section of the 12 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Anti-Chemical Unit Ready for Gulf Deployment

LD1012174290 Prague CTK in English 1629 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—All equipment and some 170 members of the Czechoslovak anti-chemical batallion are expected to be in Saudi Arabia within five to seven days, CTK was told by Lieutenant-Colonel Adolf Turek, deputy commander of the U.N. peace forces

department of the Czechoslovak Army Chief of Staff Foreign Relations Administration, in Slany near Prague today.

Members of the special unit were visited today by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel shortly after delivering a speech in the Federal Assembly (parliament) this morning. He underlined their humanitarian mission and its broad international significance.

Adolf Turek said that the transport of soldiers and equipment to Saudi Arabia by U.S. C-5 Galaxy planes will start at Prague Ruzyne Airport tomorrow morning. A total of three C-5 Galaxy planes are expected to take off. The transport is financed by Saudi Arabia.

The Czechoslovak unit is going to the Gulf at the invitation of Saudi Arabia to provide anti-chemical protection and aid in the event of the outbreak of war in the region. Its dispatch has been approved by Czechoslovak parliament.

Opinions on Gulf Crisis, Participation Surveyed

AU1012152090 Prague CTK in English 1121 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK) — 39 percent of Czechs and Slovaks agree with the sending of a Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit to the Persian Gulf, 32 percent "rather disagree", 18 percent "decidedly disagree", and the remaining 11 percent do not feel capable of judging whether or not it is justified.

These are the results of a public opinion poll of 1,003 Czechoslovak citizens over the age of 18, conducted from October 24 to November 1 by the Institute for Public Opinion Research in Prague.

Asked for their opinion on whether or not military conflict is probable in the Middle East, 12 percent considered it "very likely", 40 percent "less likely", and roughly 25 percent responded that it was "not too likely". Only one percent said that war was "completely unlikely".

Three-fourths of the respondents believe that the Persian Gulf crisis significantly affects Czechoslovak national interests.

U.N. sanctions against Iraq are supported by nearly 75 percent of the population, 9 percent disagree with the U.N. stance, and 18 percent are undecided.

Democratic Pluralist Society in Angola Favored

AU1112124890 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Martin Palous said here today that Czechoslovakia has been supporting the idea of creating a democratic pluralist society in Angola, a law-observing state guaranteeing the observance of human rights and a market economy.

At a meeting with representatives of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by UNITA Deputy Foreign Minister Paul Lukamba Gatol, Palous said that Czechoslovakia evaluates positively Angola's present development, including direct talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA. Czechoslovakia's opinion is that great political will of both sides involved is needed for achieving peace in the country. A dialogue is the only way to reach it.

The UNITA delegation has been visiting Czechoslovakia since yesterday.

Official Says Apartheid Must Be Removed

AU1012151990 Prague CTK in English 0843 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] New York Dec 6 (CTK)— The system of apartheid which legalizes oppression and discrimination is entirely unacceptable for Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak permanent representative to the United Nations Eduard Kukan has told the plenary session of the 45th U.N. General Assembly.

He pointed out that Czechoslovakia is opposed to any reform of apartheid and demands full elimination of this inhuman system. Until this happens, it will be also against easing all international sanctions applied against South Africa.

Czechoslovakia appreciates that the South African Government has recently embarked on the road towards removal of apartheid, Kukan said and hoped that the courageous policy pursued by President Frederik W. De Klerk and the patient and prudent course of black leaders will soon contribute to the fulfillment of the principles of the future arrangement in South Africa as they were set up by the special U.N. General Assembly session one year ago.

Cabinet To Withdraw From CEMA Agreements

LD0612181190 Prague CTK in English 1551 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 6 (CTK)—The Federal Cabinet agreed today on terminating the legal liability of, or Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from, contracts and other documents, regarding foreign trade activity, concluded within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) [CEMA], unless they are amended.

The documents prove to be inapplicable, with some exceptions. Some of them are outdated and have lost their raison d'etre (for instance international specialization and industrial cooperation become only an affair of the manufacturing sphere.)

The cabinet discussed a report on preparations for the 3rd session of a Czechoslovak-Iranian commission for economic and scientific-technological cooperation, due in Prague this month. The priorities at the session will be confirming the way of financing Iranian oil supplies to

Czechoslovakia and development of cooperation in the sphere of oil and natural gas supplies. Czechoslovakia is interested in many industrial projects and cooperation in the mining and processing of ores.

After hearing a report about the summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the cabinet adopted steps to set up a CSCE Secretariat in Prague.

The cabinet expressed consent with the conclusion of a Czechoslovak-Soviet government agreement on economic and trade relations in 1991.

Delegation Head Addresses Vienna Disarmament Talks

AU1012152290 Prague CTK in English 1915 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] Vienna Dec 6 (CTK)— The CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) process should replace the present security structures, thus creating a basis for a future all-European Community with a single security system, which some NATO states realize already, Czechoslovak Ambassador Miroslav Polreich said here today.

Addressing a plenary session of the Vienna disarmament talks of the 22 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries here today, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation said that NATO was a stabilizing factor at the time when the Warsaw Treaty was an instrument of super power policy. However, NATO has no longer any rival, neither in the form of Stalinist Russia. Therefore an argument for preserving NATO's present form is ceasing to exist, he said.

The Warsaw Pact is now undergoing fundamental transformation. Czechoslovakia, being an equal member of a community of European states, is given a possibility to pursue a policy corresponding with its national interests, the Czechoslovak official said.

Commission on Guidelines for European Association

LD0712153390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] A commission of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments, chaired by Deputy Federal Prime Minister Vaclav Vales, discussed in Prague today the guidelines on official talks on agreement about Czechoslovakia becoming associated with the European Community. Achieving an agreement with the European Community will create a framework for cooperation in the entire spectrum of public life, from politics through commerce and economy to cultural cooperation.

The communique from the session of the commission emphasizes that an agreement on the association is considered due to its political dimension. The scale pledges a document of quite a new type. The term "Euro-agreement" is becoming gradually its name. It will contribute not only to the creation of qualitatively new relations with regard to the political and economic reforms, but it is considered a sort of first stage of integration to the European Community.

The commission of the governments also paid special attention to a speedy creation of the system of training experts for direct cooperation with the European Community. It discussed and emphasized the necessity of a speedy creation of information and communication links in relation to the European Community.

Klaus Outlines Civic Forum's Principles

LD0912220390 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] Olomouc, North Moravia, Dec 9 (CTK)—Civic Forum Chairman Vaclav Klaus expressed today his dislike to define the Civic Forum as a right party, admitting that apart from the imaginary centre it would concentrate forces to the right of it.

At a press conference following the two-day meeting of the Civic Forum here, Klaus said the meeting succeeded in presenting draft principles of the Civic Forum's future program.

These principles reject any third way in economics and politics, a symbiosis of the market and plan, or experimental ideas of civic initiatives, as well as socialism with a human face, any reform communism or left alternatives. The Civic Forum wants to build a modern civic society with democratic institutions which would follow up the traditions of European Christian civilization, and the humanistic and democratic traditions of the first republic and the present western democracies.

New Czech Interior Minister Discusses Priorities

LD1012175190 Prague CTK in English 1607 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—New Interior Minister of the Czech Republic Tomas Sokol said he is in favor of a stronger police force as a significant element of crime prevention in his first press conference as minister here today.

Other important issues at the ministry include the splitting of the security and civil administration division into two parts and the possibility of establishing a mounted police, said former Prague public prosecutor Sokol. One problem with the split, however, is that it would mean an increase in administrative activities.

Asked whether he would seek to outlaw the Communist Party on the territory of the Czech Republic, Sokol said that the situation has changed "now that the party has abandoned the principles that I used to reproach it for (forceful seizure of power, class struggle, etc.—ed.) ... but I will not close my eyes to political extremism in any direction". In his former position as public prosecutor, Sokol considered outlawing the party last spring.

Sokol described illegal money changers as his favorite [as received] problem and said that the ministry will make an effort to get them off of Wenceslas Square, but it will not be easy as the money changers have their own defense system.

He also said that he had signed "with gusto" an order to disband the "auxiliary squad" of the police, a division of nonprofessionals that was "not functional", according to Sokol.

Meciar Spells Out Views in Czech Daily

AU0612191790

[Editorial Report] Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 4 December on pages 1 and 7 carries a 2,800-word interview with Vladimir Meciar, prime minister of the Slovak Republic, by Josef Zalesak entitled "I Have the Federation in Mind." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Meciar discusses various aspects of Czech-Slovak coexistence and of the situation in Slovakia.

Zalesak introduces his interview by describing Meciar as the "Slovak politician of the year" and a "strong personality presenting his views and attitudes in a way that arouses sympathy and admiration among some people while running up against disagreement and resistance among others." Because of Meciar's "sometimes almost provocative directness and unexpected reversals," the Slovak prime minister's critics reportedly reproach him for being "no diplomat."

In his opening question, Zalesak inquires about Meciar's opinion of journalists. The prime minister replies that journalists' reporting is marked by their own political bias and that they sometimes "let themselves be carried away by sensations." As a result, they do not inform the public adequately and objectively. Meciar also deplores the lack of mutual information between Czechs and Slovaks. He gives as an example a recent four and one-half hour news conference which he gave in Bratislava where he "explained in a fundamental manner" the Slovak position on Czech-Slovak relations. "To this day I do not know why citizens of the Czech Republic were unable to watch this news conference on federal television. One can see behind this a certain interest, an information policy that selects information," Meciar says, adding that this shows the need for "independent information systems that would provide objective information in both our republics." He also suggests that all Prague newspapers should have their own Czech correspondents in Bratislava in the interest of better mutual information.

Meciar is then asked about his response to the Czech view of himself as "someone who knows no scruples in the pursuit of Slovak interests." The prime minister replies that he is a representative of the Slovak Republic, to whose people he is responsible, and that he acts accordingly. He stresses that "whatever I demand for Slovakia, I also demand for the Czech Republic on the basis of equality." In his opinion, the identification of "the Czech with the federal" is just as harmful for Czechs as it is for Slovaks. As for his image in Bohemia, Meciar replies that he has no time to follow it. He also points out that what the newspapers write cannot be regarded as the opinion of the whole nation; rather, it "reflects to what extent I suit, or do not suit, certain special interests and power groups." In this context Meciar observes that "there are politicians in the Czech environment with whom we are simply unable to come to an agreement because they are impossible to deal with."

Next, Zalesak expresses the view that there are now "two currents of opinion" in Slovakia—one that wants immediate independence and one that wants to achieve the same objective later when "it will be more advantageous for Slovakia economically and in other ways." Meciar corrects him, saying: "If we were to divide Slovaks into the wise and the unwise on the basis of their attitude to an independent Slovak state, I would have to say that the crushing majority of Slovaks are wise men or geniuses. There are not two but three streams in Slovak politics at present. The stream demanding the immediate creation of an independent state has the support of fewer than five percent of the population, according to the results of the [local] elections in Slovakia. The second stream foresees temporary coexistence in the federation and its subsequent division on our entry into Europe. This project is championed by the current leadership of the Christian Democratic Movement headed by Dr Carnogursky. Then there is a third stream, which speaks about the settlement of Czech-Slovak relations in a common state and deals with the question of anticipating future political development in a pragmatic way by leaving it out of consideration." Meciar identifies with this third stream, saying that the shape of Europe around the year 2010 has so many unknowns that it is currently impossible to "formulate a specific and responsible standpoint."

In his subsequent reply, Meciar criticizes the development of the Czechoslovak federation in the last 20 years, which led to a situation when "in the awareness of both Czechs and Slovaks, the federal system is identified with the Czech." Meciar stresses that although the existing form of the Czechoslovak federation does not satisfy its Slovak part, "we want the federation." He says that the new arrangement of relations must do away with "uncontrolled redistribution of resources [between Czechs and Slovaks] by bureaucrats," because this system "sows the seeds of distrust and hatred," and replace it with "natural economic, political, and cultural relations."

The Slovak prime minister goes on to comment on the "economically unclear" status of Slovaks who commute to work in the Czech Republic. As he observes, these Slovaks generate national income and are taxed in the Czech Republic but collect their social and health insurance benefits, including their pensions, in the Slovak Republic. According to Meciar, this matter needs to be

settled. While on the subject of Slovaks in the Czech Republic, he also advocates a "greater number of at least elementary schools with Slovak as the language of instruction" in the Czech Republic, greater availability of the Slovak press there, and easier access to Slovak culture. All these things are needed, in Meciar's opinion, because "Slovaks have a greater tendency to assimilate than Czechs do" and are thus in greater danger of "merging with the Czech environment" and losing their identity.

Meciar is then asked to formulate the Slovak position on the autonomy demands of "Moravian initiatives." As Zalesak observes, Bratislava has not yet expressed in public its position on the "Moravian initiatives." The interviewer assumes that this is because of its "endeavor not to do anything that might be understood as interference in the internal affairs of the Czech Republic." In his reply Meciar merely says that "the Slovak stand on the future status of Moravia and Silesia is that a land setup should be established within the framework of the Czech Republic. This should suffice to fully satisfy Moravian views." Moving to the issue of the territorial arrangement of the Slovak Republic, Meciar then says: "Slovakia will not be subdivided into regions, but its territorial arrangement must respect territorial, nationality, and other specifics. Today we are unable to draft the project of Slovakia's territorial arrangement so that more than one-half of the population of Slovakia could agree on it. In Slovakia, everybody is more of a local patriot than a Slovak. The attachment to his valley, town, and village is stronger. The issue of Slovakia's territorial arrangement will have to be tackled next year, and it will provide grounds for further political turmoil."

The subsequent question concerns differences between the Prague and Bratislava views on the economic reform. Meciar admits that there exist certain differences and explains them with "different starting positions, different historical experience, and certain traditions." The most important reason for these differences, however, is Slovakia's "more difficult economic position." As Meciar points out, Slovakia has a smaller potential of "economically usable population," most of its agricultural land lies in the mountains, and the size of arable land per capita is smaller than in the Czech Republic. It also has a less suitable structure of industry because most of it is dependent on raw material imports. Besides, most of the industry is heavy industry that is "severely affected" by the conversion from military to civilian production. Slovakia's problems with "underdeveloped infrastructure" are also "more painful" than similar problems in Bohemia and Moravia.

This also explains Slovakia's greater social problems, according to Meciar: "Hardly anyone in the Czech Republic realizes that, socially, the position of Slovakia is much worse [than that of the Czech Republic]. In Slovakia about 20 percent of people would not be missed by anyone if they left their places of work tomorrow. One day these people will have to leave. This does not concern just the former arms factories but the entire economic sphere of Slovakia. We have factories where there is one unskilled worker and one administrative worker for every productive worker. The artificial employment thus maintained is no longer sustainable economically. This leads to the devaluation of human labor. Because wage resources are distributed among so many people, we are short of them when it comes to paying for labor. It also places a heavy burden on labor organization and management and on reconstruction and modernization funds. If we add to this the age and social composition of the population, the [higher] birth rate, [the large number of] Romanies, other groups, and the standard of education it becomes clear why 51 percent of the Slovak government's headache is caused by social repercussions of the reform and 49 percent by systemic measures. What I object to, as far as the reform is concerned, is the lack of its social sensitivity, its excessive emphasis on systemic measures as a panacea, and its disregard for the settlement of practical relations, as though this were no longer needed." The Slovak prime minister adds that, in defiance of Slovakia's difficult starting positions, he is an optimist. He is not afraid about Slovakia's future, he says, because of its "healthy roots" and its "industrious and modest" population which has proved repeatedly in its history that it is "able to overcome difficult obstacles."

In his concluding remarks, Meciar reiterates his support for the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks in a federal state as well as his demand that the process of arriving at "equality between the two nations in the constitutional sense" be "brought to completion."

Chairman of Slovak National Party Resigns

LD0912235890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] Just a little while ago CTK issued the following surprising news item: A session of the Central Council of the Slovak National Party took place in Trencin during which the Central Council acknowledged an announcement by Vitazoslav Moric that he is resigning from his post of chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Slovak National Party to devote himself to his activities as a Federal Assembly deputy.

Our colleague Ivana Michalikova phoned Mr. Moric to ask him what the decisive factor was in his decision to resign as chairman of the Slovak National Party.

[Begin recording] [Moric] First, I wish to devote myself to my work as a deputy. Second, I do not agree with some practices that have now emerged on the Czech scene and are being preferred there.

[Michalikova] Could you tell us what these practices are? What has annoyed you most?

[Moric] It is not that I am annoyed, but I know that, to begin with, a struggle was waged against the fact that Slovakia wants certain independence. I have already spoken at the Hlinka commemorative rally in

Ruzomberok about our demand to put the Slovak laws before the federal laws—and then I was in a way ridiculed. Nowadays it is being discussed—today even Mr. Meciar spoke about it. At that time I was also being ridiculed by the Slovak political representatives. I think that politics at present is quite a dirty business, and I wish to devote myself exclusively to my activities as a deputy.

[Michalikova] Did some of those internal conflicts contribute toward your decision?

[Moric] It is not a matter of these things only. I am saying generally that there is much dirt in politics. I think I find it unbearable to discuss it publicly because both the foreign and internal political situation are discussed.

[Michalikova] How do you, Mr. Moric, see your future activity within the Slovak National Party? Are you going to be as active as you were before?

[Moric] I joined the Slovak National Party out of conviction, and so far I do not see anything in my activities that would be against the law—both of the Slovak Republic and the Czechoslovak Republic. I would like to do my work as deputy for the Slovak National Party well.

[Michalikova] Yes. Is it possible yet to name the candidate for the post of chairman of the Slovak National Party?

[Moric] No. The Slovak National Party is to be chaired by the standing Executive Committee till the party's next assembly. [end recording]

Finance Ministry Official Gives Report on Budget

LD1112144190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0831 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Report on the 1991 state budget delivered by Katalin Botos, state secretary in the Ministry of Finance, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly, my fellow colleagues! The budget debate is of the greatest importance in the life of every country. I must present to you an extraordinary budget for extraordinary circumstances.

Because of the increased responsibilities of the finance portfolio I not only have to report the usual date, but I also have to outline what kind of economic policy has the financial consequences that you see in front of you. The extraordinary situation not only arose from the institutional changes, but from the changing status of the Ministry of Finance as well. The most important difference compared to every earlier budget debate is the new political situation itself. For more than 40 years, no responsible government has reported to a freely elected parliament about its financial plans. An important element of the political changes is openness. This budget was prepared under publicity for which there had been no precedent earlier. Thank heavens today we do not have such one-party system direction which would smother debates in their infancy, the open manifestation of interests. This was exactly what made the work of the financial portfolio difficult because they had to weather the virtual storm of interests, while carrying out their primary task of ensuring the country's economic balance.

I would like to pay tribute here on this occasion to all my fellow workers who played through this difficult game honorably.

My esteemed fellow colleagues, this is an extraordinary budget, because the external and internal conditions are equally and especially difficult. In the internal economy we are at the beginning of the transition; this is the budget to which the bills for the past are presented, and the unsettled invoices are left behind by previous governments: the debts, the deteriorating infrastructure, the environmental issues, the neglected buildings, the roads, the hospitals, the schools—the pay of teachers, the spreading poverty.

Our position in the external economic relations had also changed fundamentally. From 1990, as you all know, we are changing over to convertible-currency-based accounting with our former CEMA partners, and from this we are going to incur significant losses. The country is affected by the drought and the consequences of the increase in the price of oil as well. I must point out that these unfavorable effects not only hit the enterprises and the Hungarian citizens; they unquestionably worsen the situation of the state budget as well, and appear directly in the budget as loss of revenue or additional expenditure.

At the same time, because we are presently only at the beginning of the transition in the economy, our committments are unchangingly large on the expenditure side of the budget, as I already mentioned. Social policy, support for the housing policy, and guarantees for national insurance can only be altered by comprehensive reform of large systems, and not only in a single step. Because we must not have illusions, my esteemed colleagues, the reforms of large systems mean placing some of the provisions of certain services on a market basis. So, what until now—it is said—the citizen has received free, will in the future—at least partly—have to be paid for. Of course, these had not been free until now either, because the taxes paying for the expenditures had always to be paid by someone. It is certain, however, that redistribution which accompanies the reforms is not a simple process. It will place extra burden on the shoulders of many, so the assessment of the capacity for such burdens requires careful considerations. Few economic policy experts doubt that the role of the state must be reduced, because the market is more effective, because earlier we overextended ourselves. The citizen wants guarantees that the sacrifices are going to be worthwhile; however, such guarantees can only be provided by the government having a decisive program for the next three years.

In 1991, if parliament accepts the budget now presented, the Hungarian economy will absorb half of the negative impacts showered on it; for the other half they will be receiving loans from the international financial institutions. This favorable loan facility, amounting to nearly 60 billion forints, will give a chance for the economy not to collapse under the burdens, to say on its feet, and maintain its solvency. Under these circumstances, we can continue the liberalization of prices and imports, which are the basic preconditions for the development of enterprises, and the widening of exports. Only if we maintain our solvency can we count on serious foreign capital flowing into our economy and our position in the financial markets becoming stronger. In this way, it will be assured that convertible currency for the ongoing works will be available without restrictions for the enterprises, which is of decisive importance in an open economy.

According to our calculations both imports and exports from our Eastern European partners will be reduced, but the economy will continue the changes in structure and relations which we carried out so successfully in 1990. Although we will be experiencing some measure of reduction rather than overall ecinomic growth, this will be a transitional period because of the rapid assimilation of the effects of the external shocks which hit the economy. During the process of assimilation the budget will moderate support in the areas of production, consumer prices, and housing finances. In addition to the external burdens, these will also have to be accepted so we can begin developing markets and accelerating privatization. All these will unquestionably bring with it a one-time-around 35 percent price increase, but we are counting with gross wage increases of 28-29 percent. As

a consequence, we must obviously count on a reduction of internal usages, primarily consumption. We are also assuming that increased savings will also reduce consumption. There will be a point in saving because we are going to introduce a number of measures to encourage savings, for example the abolition of tax on deposit interests, the retaining and developing of various tax concessions which will be linked to the no-longer- forced savings, or purchases of bonds.

The tax system will retain and extend the system of encouraging enterprise for next year as well. For example, in the system of personal income tax—as I had already quoted in my presentation on the personal income tax—enterprise taxes, and turnover taxes, 30-percent reduction of the tax base is applied as an incentive for investment, opportunities to reduce tax by 30 percent. For individuals and companies with individuals participating in them, there is and will be opportunities for the accelerated write-off for machinery and other fittings within two years. Profit tax for enterprises will be reduced to 35 percent on sums below 3 million forints, the economically underdeveloped regions will be entitled to five years enterprise profit tax concessions, and in addition investments will be entitled to full refund of AFA [state turn-over tax]

Under the unusually unfavorable and tense economic and financial conditions of 1991 the tax legislation proposals pay special attention to the instruments of taxation favorable to promote the privatization of state assets and to tax concessions which encourage investments. Here I am referring to costs of setting up establishments, the introduction of five years limitations, up to 50-percent annual reduction of the tax base for investments through privatization, the AFA exemption of assets acquired through privatization.

I want to indicate the intention of the government to present the concept for a comprehensive reform of the tax system in the first quarter of 1991, which could become law in the second half of 1991. The essence of this will be the introduction of a two-tiered AFA system, create a system of enterprise taxation, and make substantive changes in the system of personal taxation. After all these, we are still counting on some price increases in 1992 as well, exactly as a consequence of the planned tax reform. If we change over to the two-tiered AFA then we must accept a minimum six to seven percent price increase, and several other measures will act in the direction of price increases. In 1992, however, according to our projections, the level of inflation will be reduced to almost half of 1991; the modest, but at least three-percent growth of the economy, will begin, which in 1993 will be even higher by one to two percent, can even reach five percent.

Esteemed National Assembly, as it becomes apparent from what had been said so far, the most important aim of the economic policy of the government is curb price increases and reduce foreign debts to the lowest possible level with the help of budgetary instruments as well. A substantial increase in debts in 1991 would finance undoubtedly the forced excess budgetary expenditures which in reality never can be recovered from any other source except from fleecing incomes, increasing the tax burden. This is not our intention.

The aim of the government is to assist the revival of the economy through the enterprise sector which can ensure returns, parallel with the advance of liberalization and privatization.

My esteemed fellow colleagues! I now wish to talk about the basic issues of the state budget. As a preliminary issue, I have to mention that the bill also includes the amendment to several laws. Unfortunately next year the number of unemployed will increase. The government will, therefore, make recommendations for the distribution of burdens in a separate bill. We are expecting both exployers and employees to pay one percent on wages. The employees can deduct the paid amount from the personal income tax base. The state budget, according to plans, will support the Solidarity Fund by 4 billion forints—this will be the name of the fund. I also wish to draw your attention that you had earlier received the proposed bill for the amendment of the law concerning technical developments, the Central Technical Developments funds. During the final consideration of the allocations within the state budget, the government, in the very difficult situation decided that in the interest of controlling the deficits, recommends the withdrawal of 1 billion forints from the Central Technical Development funds, simultaneously with some other measures. So compared to the already submitted proposal Part 7 of the Budget Bill includes a change.

Esteemed fellow colleagues! The structure of the budget, order of chapters and headings, the order of approval and execution in 1991 will be substantially different from earlier years. In these changes we paid special attention to bring the 1991 budget proposal in line to some extent with the bill on public expenditure.

Concerning the questions about the content, it is obvious that neither in the performing capacity of the economy nor in the roles of the state can fundamental changes be achieved within a short time. The government, therefore, considers that—taking into account the need to ensure external financing and the strong decline in the level of society's tolerance—next year no drastic steps can be taken to improve substantially the position of certain income groups. To take such steps require longer time, interest coordinations going into details, and circumspect analysis is necessary. The 1991 budget proposal of the government, therefore, does not contain the tax reductions expected by many; however, it neither intends to bring into an impossible situation either the population or institutional provisions. Although the government is forced to present proposals which affect certain areas unfavorably—but, where it is possible and justified, on the basis of needs—there the burden will be partially compensated for.

Esteemed fellow colleagues, the government is presenting a proposal, viewed primarily from the point of financing possibilities, for a budget deficit of 78 billion forints. This sum, compared to the budget situation of previous years is very large. In the interest of realistic comparisons, however, I must draw the attention of my esteemed fellow colleagues, that there are structural changes in this as well. In the financing of investments—this I will talk about later—the two-channel central financing will come to an end. Investments at state-supported institutions will be transferred to the state budget. This change, which is in aid of providing clarity and easier oversight, will increase the direct budgetary expenditure by nearly 20 billion forints.

The financial burdens connected with family allowances, which had been taken over by the government last year, this year already imposing on the state budget 12 months installments, and compared to last year this means nearly 15 billion forints extra expenditure. If we only took these items into consideration, together with the 10 billion deficit for 1991, the deficit is already 45 billion [forints], if we considered it on the basis of the same structure. Furthermore, we have not yet talked about the circumstances which led to the decline of the position in substance. The latter is demonstrated to us by the detailed data.

My fellow colleagues, the individual budget categories are signified by the following. Payments from economic units are expected to be reduced in 1991. First, because, due to the changes in the relations the rubles import-linked payments will be reduced. I referred to this when I mentioned that the collapse of the CEMA is not only bad for the country in general terms, but specifically burdens the budget. By itself it means almost a 40 billion loss. In line with the economic productive capacity of the country, increase in enterprise profit tax can be expected to be modest and so will be the profits from state assets. The increases in consumption tax on fuel, and luxury consumer goods are aiming to replace these losses. With this the proportion of consumption taxes in the tax system will further increase which on the longer term is a desirable direction. I heard desire for this raised in this house on several occasions.

The revenue from personal income tax from the 1990 expected 129-130 billion forints will increase to 179-180 billion forints. The budgetary revenue will increase substantially from this; it will increase by nearly 78 billion forints. The reason for this is that in the interest of avoiding even further deterioration of the budgetary position, the government had to count on unchanged personal income tax rates.

To limit support for enterprises, which has great effects on the balance of the budget, we took a step forward; however, due to the changes of circumstances, the steps were smaller than expected. Subsidies concentrated mainly in the food economy and basis services, and in these areas the reduction of subsidies means price increases. As I already mentioned, we would like to keep this at the lowest possible level, it is large enough even then.

Subsidies for economic organizations, along with the subsidies in the housing sphere, will amount to somewhat more than 186 billion forints in 1991, calculated in net terms. The state budget's provisions contain a total cutback in subsidies of some 37 billion forints. This rate, next year, is part of the program of subsidy cutbacks begun in 1988 which was begun by the previous governments and whose successful realization is extremely important from the viewpoint of fulfilling the commitments undertaken vis-a-vis the international financial organizations and the possibility for the country to obtain external finances.

Some half of the subsidies to be cut back are linked to the export sphere, in connection with the changes taking place in socialist interstate accounting; however, esteemed fellow deputies, I call it to your attention that unfortunately we are not able to cut back socialist export subsidies at the same rate as the fall in revenues on the other side.

The other half of the subsidies to be cut back affects the consumers', investment, production subsidies. Within consumers' subsidies, the decrease of subsidies related to household fuel is very considerable. There will be a further decrease in investments and in current production subsidies of the agricultural sector; however, regarding to the interlinked nature of the system of subsidies for the food economy, subsidies for the branches affected will not decrease radically. Thus, the food economy will enjoy a relative advantage.

Esteemed fellow deputies. I wish to make a slight digression here. Owing to numerous reasons, signs of uncertainty and bewilderment can be experienced in the agricultural branches. The suspicion has also arisen that we wish to rehabilitate the budget financially to the detriment of the village. What is true of this? It is true to the extent that problems have also accumulated in this sphere which stem from irrational property relations, from irrational sizes of concerns, and from the chronic lack of capital. The years that successively brought frost damage, floods, and drought have crowned all this. In spite of all the earlier successes, the generally mediocre economic performance, the decline in solvency, the increased severity of market requirements caught unprepared the producers and processors in the agricultural branch who were not sufficiently supplied with self-defense and regulatory mechanisms. Some spheres and regions ended up in an especially difficult situation. It is necessary to add that their difficult situation was also partially caused by low efficiency.

It cannot be denied that the state of the budget has also contributed to the transitionally bad situation. The economic performance and public funds are not sufficient for us to have the same agricultural protection as previously, mainly not as much as what our strongest rivals

have. The country, however, does not wish to sacrifice our bread on the altar of the budget. The government is working so that we will continue to have a strong, effective and internationally competitive agricultural branch which, through high-standard supplies, constitutes internal political stability, and which, through economical exports, contributes to a preservation of solvency. In this regard, we reckon with a change in that not at any cost do we expect the most exports possible. We are of the view that these objectives can be attained with an operational structure which is more rational than that at present, with market mechanisms which are regulated through the creative force of independence and ownership interests.

I shall, therefore, return to the discussion of the reductions in subsidies; furthermore, I might mention here that, as a result of these, the subsidies—in proportion to GDP [Gross Domestic Product], thus the gross value of what is produced—will be lower than seven percent in 1991.

The assessment of housing expenditures and changes therein in 1991 is, I believe, a matter which is of interest for most Hungarian citizens. When analyzing this, what is most important is what would happen if we did not implement alterations in the sphere of housing finances? First, it is very apparent that I must divide the state's outlays in this direction into four categories: outlays of a social policy character, subsidies for circulating funds' credits, subsidies for new and former housing credits. I shall present these to you in this sequence, because I think, with regard to the extreme sensitivity of the matter, that it is necessary to familiarize my fellow deputies with the problem in such detail.

Social policy outlays in the coming budget will decrease somewhat. This, however, is not the consequence of our wish to make savings on outlays, but rather the number of those who are able to claim these concessions is expected to decrease. That is, we in general are reckoning with a slight decrease in housing demand. Subsidies for the housing of young couples will also be altered, inasmuch as from 1991, this will belong to the jurisdiction not of the budget, but of the self-governments. The self-governments will receive 5 billion forints for this purpose, and for local social subsidies. The consequences of the new contracts concluded at the end of 1990 will, of course, be borne by the budget in 1991.

Second, I mention the subsidies for interest on circulating funds' credits. From among the budget's housing outlays, this is the only one that attempts to strengthen the supply of rather than the demand for housing. This sum will be received, in the form of support, by those who build dwellings or have dwellings built for citizens, for the purpose of selling. The sum of this will grow by approximately half a billion forints. The growth, in essence, will follow the increase in interest. I can report with pleasure that the proportion of entrepreneurs has considerably increased in the utilisation of this concession. Thus, while their proportion did not reach one percent in 1989, we expect a proportion of approximately eight percent in 1991.

Third, I mentionsubsidies for so-called new housing credits. By this, I mean credits which were granted by the OTP [National Savings Bank] and the savings cooperatives according to regulations after 1 January 1989. These are so-called repayment subsidies. Their system is such that if we do not alter them in the coming year, then in essence what already happened with the former housing credits might be repeated, that is the state's burdens might grow enormous. In the final instance, this would be to the debit of other strata of society. We must recognize, esteemed fellow deputies, and esteemed Hungarian citizens, that someone always pays. The state has a means of disposing only with what it gets from its citizens, from its entrepreneurs. For this reason, early next year we must work out a new system of providing credit for housing which henceforth does not cause budget outlays, or scarcely does so, and which at the same time does not constitute unbearable high interest for the homebuilders, the new recipients of credit. An experts' proposal has been made, with the assistance of the World Bank, for this task which appears unaccomplishable. This is the so-called dual indexing system of housing credits. Simply put, its essence is that the stock of capital which was taken on as credit and which still remains, increases every year in proportion with inflation, while the capital installment increases in proportion with the growth in nominal wages.

This system balances out the inflationary impacts, during the period of repayment. We earmarked, in the 1991 budget, 6.2 billion forints as repayment support. I wish here to note here that this sum is sufficient only if we introduce the new form of credit in the first six months. If we do not alter the system of providing credits, we would have to earmark further billions for the second half of the year. I add that we do not plan to alter the conditions of housing credits taken on according to the regulations after 1 January 1989.

It is not by chance that I have left the issue of so-called former housing credits to the end. This is the issue which affects most people and which is most controversial. All of us remember the interest-tax which was adopted in last year's budget and was later repealed. In the earlier-existing system of suport for homebuilding, banks gave loans for housing purposes, at very low interest set by law, out of personal deposits which had been placed there at increasing interest. The budget reimbursed the difference between the two rates of interest. For the purpose of decreasing the subsidies on interest which burden taxpayers and undoubtedly siphon resources away from the important social objectives, and which are provided regardless of social need, for the sake of sharing out the costs which affect all of society, with due regard to the second paragraph of Clause 726 of the Civil Code, which in exceptional cases makes it possible to alter the contents of earlier-concluded contracts, the government proposes that the interest on these credits be raised.

During the debate that has gone on for years, it has been raised by many people that the amount of the increase, which is necessary, should be proportionate to the amount of what is owed, to the time which has elapsed since the loan was granted or which still remains for repayment. Moreover, it is said that this amount should depend on the number of children, on the size of income. Esteemed fellow deputies, I apologize that I am robbing your attention with these details, but perhaps it is important for you to pay attention to such technical minutiae which might become substantive. These mentioned differentiations in practice are completely impossible to carry out. The machine which keeps records at OTP has not been able to carry out this task up to now, either. This is the state of our technical level: it is not familiar with statistics of this type, it is not able to take in further statistics, but if we were to take out the almost 1.5 million files—and this would necessitate about a year—it would still be impossible to ascertain who are the proprietors, since one-third of the stock now belongs to part-owners as a consequence of inheritance, divorce, bestowal as a gift. It cannot be ascertained from the files who are living in the individual dwellings, what their property proportion is. The family-relations of the inhabitants or the owners cannot be ascertained, nor can the amount of their incomes be ascertained whatsoever. For this reason, we see no other possibility than to raise the monthly repayment instalments by a uniform set amount, in 1991. As from the following year, all debts would be burdened by the new interest.

The assertion of social considerations, however, is a very important matter. The only practical chance for this is to survey the family's situation, based on a concrete examination, and to give support for repayment installments with regard to need by that which is closed to them, the self-government. [sentence as heard] The legal frameworks are given for this, because there has been such support up to now. For example, in the 1990 state budget we provide the self-governments a budget contribution of 2 billion forints for this purpose. This, under the title of communal activity, is 200 forints per person. Thus, we think a situation can be avoided whereby higher repayment installments put families in impossible situations. The framework and cover for support is, therefore, given.

Esteemed fellow deputies! To be able to keep to the 78 billion budget deficit will require more than everything mentioned so far. Subsidies must be further reduced. This will not, however, affect citizens who have housing ioans.

In the budget proposal, the government recommends repurchase next year of housing loan bonds to reduce interest payments by around 8.5 billion forints. Funding for the repurchase will be from anticipated privatization revenue. If the esteemed parliament decide for the recommended changes to take place, then in the view of the government the planned 78 billion deficit can be maintained. The importance of this for avoiding galloping inflation cannot be stressed enough.

Esteemed National Assembly, in line with the concept of budgetary reform, as I already mentioned, the role of the state will be modified in the financing of stocks. Beginning next year, the state will not take part as sole finance provider in large production investments, and in development support for economic units. The intention of the government is to support from central sources the productive intrastructure, human infrastructure, defense and public safety, programs to support the development of backward regions, and to support programs to protect natural resources and historic monuments.

In compiling the 1991 budget, the government has already taken into account these considerations. The exceptions are those internal and international investments which are already in progress, and which are based on valid contracts. For example, these include the concluding stage of the construction of the Yamburg gas works, the often mentioned Boes-Nagymaros—until a final interstate agreement is reached, until this we are obliged to continue with the protective works—and the state support for the export activities of economic units. The new development policy to be introduced by the government, and the constructive changes in the financing of the development program, will result in development expenditures in 1991 substantially lower that the current year.

Esteemed National Assembly, social expenditure is the next, substantial, traditional element of the budget. Here, needs, demands, and possibilities diverge most, more sharply than in any of those areas mentioned earlier. Unfortunately, the structural transformation and setting of the tasks for the central government has not yet been completed. I must provide you with information about the Ministry for Transportation, Telecommunications and Water, and the Ministry for Environmental Protection and Regional Settlement, but their budget proposal for the 1991 were finalized only last week. Thus, you received a budget set prior to the reorganization, this you no doubt realized. The amendment is included in a special supplement which you will shortly find on your desks I understand.

Similarly, budgetary allocation changes with respect to technical training have not yet been proposed by the Ministry for Labor Affairs. This is likely to be possible only in January. Also in progress are specialist direction functions provided at the national level which will be taken over by the central budget. The government is trying to establish proportionality so justified public administration and other service activities under central direction can improve work quality by specialists but without ministerial offices bearing down on self-governments. Unfortunately the general level of so-called automatism affecting institutional areas is very low. The budgetary revenues provide an opportunity for this. Together with budgetary transfers and, in some areas, along with development funds, this is not so very little.

I especially want to mention that the government, to secure basic institutional provisions, despite limited resources,—I shall return to this—makes proposals for special wage policy measures in health and education.

In education, the budget proposal submitted plans a 10 percent wage increase in addition to the 20 percent general institutional wage increase. All this means that educators can in essence receive within one year more than a 60 percent wage increase. So, even if the joke is true, what the educators want to see even wider, but they must admit that the government has gone to meet them. [sentence as heard] This proposal had not been made yesterday. The government had gone to meet thier requests, and appreciated their very difficult situation during the past years.

Similarly, during the first two stages of the implementation of the wage policy concept for health service workers—during last year and this year—there were wage improvements for those employed in occupations requiring medical qualifications, for doctors and pharmacists, for others with university qualifications, and for workers with special qualifications.

In the third phase, wage settlements for those in economic, technical, management and physical jobs, and the wage differential between various occupations or occupational groups, will be on the agenda, at the initiative of the Ministry for Social Welfare. The government has accepted this.

Similarly, the law which my fellow deputies debated on the pay and career structure of the judiciary will be implemented. So, those working in the judiciary, in contrast to the general 20 percent pay increase, will receive a more than 60 percent pay increase.

The government also wants to improve the pay position of those working as researchers at academic institutions. The extra 220 million forints in the budget for the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is for this purpose, for increases above the level of automatic pay increases. Those involved will themselves decide on the distribution of the allowance through the instrument of interest coordinating mechanisms. Obviously, the country cannot afford the brain drain, the departure, of our most talented researchers from our small country.

Esteemed fellow deputies, by allocating financial provisions from the budget instead of from general increases, we tried to give a precedent for solutions which consider needs. This was applied for family allowances, for financial support for students in higher education, and for formulating standard principles for state support of self-governments. Here, I want to talk especially about family allowances. To inflation proof family allowances, the state budget allocated an average of 350 forints on a differentiated basis. An additional 150 forint family allowance is allocated by the budget for local educational aid allowances, nearly 4 billion forints, based on a distribution system developed by the Ministry of Social Welfare.

Among questions affecting the populations, in a few words, I want to deal with state support for holiday provisions. The budget proposal before you places state support for holiday provisions entirely under the jurisdiction of the Directorate for Holidays and Sanatoriums. From this, trade union holiday provisions can also have a share based on internal distribution principles. The government could decide it is of great importance that beginning in 1992 a new system of support for holiday provisions needs to be introduced. It would already have been a good thing, but by 1992 this should definitely be done. Let us now discuss the costs of defense and other armed bodies. Armed forces, bodies, and police organs are the embodiments, the executors, of classic state tasks. When working out the budget, the government could not give these organizations priority, even if economic tensions justified this. It was necessary to accept that the tasks, and within this the reexamination of the institutional structure, demanded rethinking, economizing, here, too. The Ministry of Defense, since the new government took office, has carried out considerable organizational changes. The Defense Law has been altered, and a rapid, spectacular, changes in the form of new political, social, and economic structures as well as slower change in substantive features, has begun.

The transformation of the Hungarian People's Army into the Hungarian Army is not just a change in name, it also means a considerable change in its system of substantive requirements. Beyond the move from an offensive to a defensive posture, and beyond the alteration of the enemy concept, a change in outlook and structure is being carried out. In both cases, it is necessary to reckon with a period of transition. Based on this, the working out of the new national defense concept has begun. This has thorough foundations, which are accepted by the interest groups. Let us say it is accepted by society. We expect this to be finalized, with the adaptation to new international military relations, by early 1991. For this reason, in shaping the ministry's budget, the government paid attention to 1989 reductions, to the considerable progress in the conventional armed forces reduction talks, to the easing of the international situation, and to the catching up with Europe. When accepting a sum higher than that of 1990, it paid attention to the extra burden posed by the introduction of the 12-month military service period. No matter how strange this sounds, this represents an extra burden. The government also focused on foreign trade and the accounting switchover which afflicts all the bodies, and to the increase in costs owing to inflation, although I have to say this fell very short of demands.

The organization and authority of the Ministry of the Interior were considerably altered in the second half of the year. Thus, the security services have been transferred to direct government control. The Interior Ministry has taken over direction of civil defense from the Ministry of Defense. The direction of the police has changed, and the airport security inspectorate and a compensation office have been established.

The development and direction of the organizational system linked to the coming into force of the law on self government, as I have already pointed out, represent a major change. In the Ministry of the Interior, organizational and operational streamlining has begun in nearly every area. Changes in social- economic circumstances, and the continuation of the process of impoverishment, constitute considerable extra tasks for all authorities. This is also embodied in the social requirement to improve public security. It is possible to satisfy all these generally recognized expectations if the ministry accelerates the organizational streamlining already in progress. The governemnt, in the targets aimed at stepping up internal security, is only able to contribute a sum smaller than demanded. In the utilization of this, however, priority must be given to investigating crime, improving effectiveness, and to activity which eliminates terrorism and averts catastrophe. I believe that society will agree with all of this.

Separating the national security services from the Ministry of the Interior and placing them under the Ministry Without Portfolio relects the government's intention that these organizations operate within independent, controlable and appropriate legal frameworks. The complete development of their organizational structure and duties, however, is still in progress.

Esteemed National Assembly, one very essential issue in the 1991 budget is the situation of the self-governments, how the self- governments manage economically. The system of economic conditions, emerging according to the terms of the self-government law, assigns difficult tasks to the self-governments. These, however, can be realized. We have shaped the 1991 budget positions of the local self-governemnts in accordance with the regulation reinforced by the law on self-government. We have considered as a basic condition in the self-governments' management of resources the safeguarding and maintenance of their ability to function. This is served by the regulations' supplementary elements, which ease resource shortages stemming from the large income differences. The budget's possibilities for next year unfortunately enable only sharply focused development activity. Part of the 23 billion available forints continue or complete special development projects. Another part of this is aimed at central support for some special objectives. In accordance with the regulation of the law on self-government, there is also the chance that, after considering general conditions, self-governments unable to function through no fault of their own could claim more central support. This, unfortunately, cannot mean the long-awaited catching up of certain villages, settlements, in the coming year. It only amounts to a recognition of the difficult situation in which they find themselves. The government, however, will devote attention to the operation of the institutions which serve the satisfying of elemental needs, to guaranteeing the fulfilling of these tasks, so possibilities for this emerge.

Experience in 1990 show that personal income tax does not meet the expectations of those who feel that tax should reflect the self-governemnts' economic strength and the income background of the region. The progressive nature of concessions, exemptions and tax rates distorts the real income background. Generally, this strengthens regional earnings and income differences. This is why a distribution of personal income tax between central and local organs, of which the esteemed fellow-deputies are aware, was justified. Forecast models verified that in the 1991 regulation it was expedient to distribute this on a 50-50 basis. This way, the centralized 50 percent would go back to the self-governments. It would be transformed into state support, and provide cover for the new, normative contribution and for catching up by settlements which fell very short of the average personal income tax per person. Even then, there will still be tensions in many small settlements and small towns. The intent of our measure proposing a personal income tax supplement to the tune of some 4.6 billion forints is to help them.

We shaped the area of normative provisions figuring in the draft budget, in accordance with the law on self-government, primarily by taking into acount obligatory local tasks. There was a strong effort, in part by individual ministries, in part by interest groups, to ensure that we expanded normative provisions. I have to tell you, however, that in the current state of the budget, an extension of normative provisions could be carried out only through internal regrouping, regarding taxes. It would not constitute an extra resource, so we do not propose this alteration. I want to emphasize that as regards obligatory self-government tasks, there is no question of the state having to guarantee all-encompassing provisions for these measures. On the one hand, all-encompassing is intangible, because so-called professional norms are still missing. These will be contained in the laws on education, health, and so forth, when they are enacted. On the other hand, and this is what I think is very important, the requirement for all-encompassing financing does not follow from the law on self-government either, because the fifth paragraph of the law's first clause says the following—please excuse me for quoting, but I think it is important to have a clear idea about this matter: The law can set obligatory tasks and jurisdictions, the National Assembly guarantees the material conditions necessary for fulfilling these, it decides on the amount and method of budgetary contribution.

The normative contributions, therefore, mean the state contributes to obligatory self-government tasks, depending on the national economy's capacity to tolerate this. The amount of the contribution, in most cases (?comes out) at the national average. Also arguing against all-encompassing central financing is the passage in the sixth paragraph of clause one of the law on self-governments, to the effect that the self-government sees to the performance of the voluntarily undertaken and obligatory self-governemnt tasks in a unified budget. On this basis, in the case of obligatory tasks, it is possible to use revenues from personal income tax and their own resources. It is also necessary to reckon with the receipt of payments in exchange for the self-government institutions' services, so they will have certain revenues.

Esteemed fellow deputies, to finalize the economy of self-governments in 1991, more decisions at government and parliament level are needed. The establishment of previously mentioned organizations to carry out state administration tasks fitting into the newly formed self-government system can be regarded as such an issue. Another issue to be settled is the sorting out of the financial background of the self-government. With the appearance of self-government property, the self-government received an opportunity to increase the scope their resource management and their enterprise. Further regulations in connection with asset management must be coordinated with the other legal regulations, such as the land law. The income from the privatization of enterprises established by previous councils can extend the scope for action. We have set the dividend of the self-governments from this, considering that the self-governments should not have to tackle additional burdens from the state debt that arose in the past above this amount. With regard to the coordinations carried out in the recent past, the government is not averse to the raising of the 20 percent share proportion which is included in our submission. We can see problems in finding accord with the metropolitan law, too. This was actually debated yesterday, in relation to the district and the center. For this reason, in the interests of the metropolitan institutions' ability to operate, the government proposes that the metropolitan assembly be authorized to decide for one year on the regulation of sources within the capital.

Esteemed fellow deputies, I want to mention another, and the last, issue—the handling of state debt. The development of burdens in connection with domestic state debt deeply influences the situation of the state budget for 1991, and also for the following years. Its proportion within the main expenses of the 1991 budget is 11.8 percent. This is the point, when this proportion exceeds 10 percent, when taxpayers of all budgets in the world begin to protest and to call to the government's attention that it should not take upon itself more than it can handle. Planning and shaping these burdens is possible only by the uniform settling of the scope and the handling of the state debt. Several circumstances make this necessary. On the one hand, it is an exact registration of the content and the size of the debt that in the past which has become necessary. However strange it may sound, my fellow deputies, it is necessary to register exactly what we inherited from the past. We must do this so the debt involves all debts which evolved due to state tasks completed either on the debit of the state budget or outside of that. Further, we should create a securely solvent budget in the future with credit operations. We have to sort out the conditions of this, too. Another task to resolve is the setting of the expiration of debts on the basis of the budget's load bearing capacity, and the setting of the interest to be paid on the debt in the entire interest system. Current law says that we provide this only on domestic debts, for the conditions of the state debt to foreign countries are laid down in the concluded contracts. The elements of domestic state debts to evolve at the end of 1991 is detailed in the 24th paragraph of the bill. The debt to the National Bank of Hungary represents an overwhelming majority of the debt. A further part is the debt that evolved owing to security operations with other income proprietors. It merits special attention that the debt of the State Institute on Development, originating from the refinancing loan given by the National Bank of Hungary, is also among them. These debts indeed represented the source of the implementation of domestic and international investments based on state decisions. Thus, making them a part of the state debt means that all state burdens connected with accumulating investment activity will appear in the budget among expenses of the debt duty interest repayment on the one hand, and among those of accumulation on the other. At the same time, the allowances, interests and repayments paid by the debtors of the refinancing loans will appear on the income side of the budget. Thus, it is the difference of the expenses and the incomes due to these loans which influence the position of the budget after all.

Owing to the acute deficit of the past decade, no real state turnover fund exists at the movement. For this reason, solvency can only be maintained by artificial solutions, which obviously cannot be done over the long term. I call it to your attention with special emphasis that this loan does not mean a supplementary issue of bank notes, because the sources existing in the bank system will not change, only divisions between the deposit holders will change. This is a matter of detail, but I think it is also important that we get to know about this. On the basis of the circumstances outlined, the domestic state debt—without the quasi debt originating from the devaluation of the forint—will be approximately 840 billion forints by the end of 1990. This represents one-third of the estimated Gross Domestic Product, the so-called GDP. This is indeed a grave heritage from the past. In the future, we consequently intend to seperate from this debt the debts to evolve from the credit and security operations of the budget afer 1991. Because my fellow deputies, this time we will decide on its size, it is necessary that we adequately consider the weight and the influence of our decison on the future.

Interest conditions of the state debt can be fitted in the whole system if the budget also pays the basic interest of the refinancing loans of the Bank of Issue given to commercial banks, 25 percent, from 1991 after the new National Bank loans. Let us see clearly, dear fellow deputies. The amount of money that can be made will be spent either by the budget or the enterpreneurial sector. If we want the enterpreneurial sector to receive as much as possible, let us see clearly what it means if we use this. According to our plans, the interest condition of the debt by the end of 1990 will be laid down as 40 percent of the basic interest on the commercial banks' refinancing loans, and at nine percent in 1991. Dear fellow deputies, this interst rate, however, is not fabricated, for it is close to the interest rates on the foreign sources involved by the National Bank. It should be noted that the proposed

40 billion forint interest on the turnover fund will also be nine percent. It is reasonable that the state budget handled in the National Bank also pay identical interest to depositors. To improve the budget's liquidity and to finance part of the deficit, we propose in the bill to acquire money market sources. This, however, we can expect only if we offer competitive profits. For this reason, the budget, in the case of treasury bills and state debt bonds, expects an interest close to the rate of inflation, a five percent increase of the former in the course of the year.

On the basis of all this, as a balance of the expenses and the incomes of the domestic state debt servicing chapter, let us not just look at the expence side, esteemed fellow deputies, the estimates are some 82.6 billion forints net burden. [sentence as heard]

Esteemed National Assembly, I have come to the end of my lengthy report. I want to call your attention to the fact that both the government and the finance portfolio which made the submission are aware, and the National Audit Office will soon call to our attention, the fact that uncertainty in connection with next year's processes is rather great, which naturally will influence the estimates, too. You can see, esteemed fellow deputies, that although there is a great deal of uncertainty, we have been striving for security, because this is in the basic interest of the entire country. We all could see from this long list that next year the country's income will be small—small, compared with demand. You could see, dear fellow deputies, that we tried to find the main points. I do not want to use the word priorities, because this sounds a bit complicated, when we can not divide the extension, but we have to take from somewhere and we have to prefer somebody.

You, esteemed fellow deputies, can also see from my speech that we are aware that there are still several legally unsettled issues. At the same time, however, you can also see and know that we proceeded in a direction in accordance with the state budget law. I would, however, call your attention to another thing. That despite recognizing all these difficulties, we can be optimistic about the future. It can also justify our hopes that we are submitting the budget to the esteemed house when we also can present significant results. When the country's foreign trade balance, for the first time in more than 10 years, is expected to end the year with a surplus, a very significant surplus of 1 billion dollars. As our balance of payments becomes more and more balanced, it will work out much more favorably than expected, as it will when our enterprises and entrepreneurs find a substitue for most of the lost eastern markets and when we can fully comply with our undertakings to the IMF regarding our internal financial balance in 1990. I can also say, dear fellow deputies, that we are on the verge of a long-term agreement with IMF. All this gives our country a historic chance for a prosperous market economy to start in our counry, after a tough year. For this reason, I ask you to help improve this bill with your constructive proposals, and then please adopt the 1990 budget of the Hungarian Republic this year. Thank you for your attention.

Opposition Parties Criticize 'Dire Budget'

LD1112211190 Budapest MTI in English 1927 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—The government has put forward a belated and shoddily prepared draft state budget to parliament, of such a kind that the opposition parties cannot accept it with a clear conscience. Nevertheless, the opposition forces, aware of their responsibility for the future of the country, will make every possible effort to see that the country will start the new year, promising to be a difficult one anyway, with an approved budget, upon which the talks with the international financial organizations hinge, MPs of the alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ], the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ] and the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP] told a common press conference on Tuesday.

Karoly Attila Sos (AFD), Klara Ungar (FYD) and Laszlo Bekesi (HSP) said the three parties had agreed not to resort to obstructionist tactics against the government coalition. Instead, they will put forward coherent packages to render next year's budget relatively viable. This is all on condition, however, that the budget is not considered as final by the government, and that an account is given to parliament of the state of the budget and the unavoidable modifications by April 30, 1991.

As far as the tripartite agreement is concerned, the opposition MPs denied that the three parties had formed a coalition. The opposition forces, they said, had only been brought together by their common professional responsibility, roused by what they described as a dire budget. In response to a question, they stressed that a government takeover or the establishment of a shadow crisis team were out of question. Even if all three parties were taken together, they still wouldn't have a parliamentary majority for that, they said.

On the proposed amendments to go before parliament, ex-Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi referred to the Socialists calculations that the central subsidies could be cut by another 40 billion forints, mainly by trimming defence and administrative costs. A thorough revision of the draft budget could result in the saving of further tens of billions (thousand millions(, Bekesi said. The AFD experts arrived at a similar, if not quite identical conclusion. Klara Ungar held out the prospects of a similar revision and said that the thousand millions turning up that way could be earmarked for chopping income tax and improving social allowances.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Ambitions for High Office

AU1112141690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Dec 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, former Hungarian Socialist Party Presidium member and parliamentary

faction leader, by Gyorgy Andras Lengyel and Zoltan Otvos; place and date not given: "I Am Doing My Job"]

[Text] [Pozsgay] The officials did not authorize me to divulge their name. My mail, however, has increased and I am trying to give an honest and correct answer to everyone; furthermore, I do not want to leave anything in the dark. The essential thing, therefore, is that we are not talking here about the establishment of a new party, but a movement required by society and which society might ask me to join.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In other words, you will not tell us what party followers "have approached" you?

[Pozsgay] I think that, if I answered this question, you would be able to determine those people by geographical factors and parliamentary seats alike.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Has Prime Minster Antall's recent speech strengthened your chances, a speech which many people regarded as empty?

[Pozsgay] I do not count on such things. When I follow with attention the manifestations of one statesman or another, all I think about is whether this is good for the country and for managing our crisis. I am not prone to speculations.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What do you think, has this speech been useful for the country?

[Pozsgay] Hungary expected more....

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Can you see yourself in the position of the prime minister of the Hungarian Republic?

[Pozsgay] No. I have no such political ambitions yet, and I have not been prepared for something like this.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Will you aspire to the position of president of the Hungarian Republic in four or five years?

[Pozsgay] Let the public and society decide on this. If I gain the confidence of the people, I will not reject the call. For the time being, however, I am not considering such a political function.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Can one expect you to be more tolerant with the press than Jozsef Antall, once you advance into the position of prime minister or president of the Hungarian Republic? I must remind you here of an event that occurred last winter—namely, the dismissal of the chief editor and deputy chief editor of the Television News....

[Pozsgay] A lot of rumors and speculations were circulating about this event, but, as far as I am concerned, these speculations did not have a solid ground. Precisely because I am also tolerant with the press, I do not willingly answer such questions, and if one or another journalist does not like me, I do not think that the entire press is against me. One should not necessarily quarrel with the press.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Has there been any foreign reaction to the fact that you resigned from the leadership of the Socialist Party faction in parliament and you left the party?

[Pozsgay] I have received a lot of invitations from both left- wing and conservative parties. I held two lectures in the European Parliament in Strasbourg, and I have just received an official invitation from the Italian Socialist Party.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] According to Andreas Lorenz, an oustanding columnist in DER SPIEGEL, you are the only really professional politician in Hungary. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Pozsgay] It is not my task to conclude this because my capacity for self-reflection [onreflexios kepesseg] is small. I do my job and I do not know whether I am making history or not, but it is pleasant for me to hear this from the aforementioned journalist.

Balance of Trade Surplus Expected by Year's End

LD1112124790 Budapest MTI in English 1053 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 11, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—[Word indistinct] officials expect that Hungary's convertible foreign trade surplus will amount to an unprecedented 1 billion USD [U.S. dollars] by the end of the year.

This is particularly significant given that the gulf crisis and this summer's drought landed Hungary with extra expenditures of 400 million USD and some 100 million USD respectively.

Hungary's convertible trade surplus is currently about 900 million USD, and although its growth slowed down in November, Hungarian companies will fulfill a considerable number of orders in the last month of the year, giving a further boost to the growth of the country's convertible surplus.

Hungary's hard-currency-accounted exports rose by 17.4 per cent in the first 11 months, with exports to EC countries increasing by 25.9 per cent. Exports to the EC were worth 2.806 billion USD, representing nearly half of Hungary's total convertible exports of 5.842 billion USD.

The EC countries' share of imports to Hungary has also risen: While total convertible imports grew by 7.9 per cent, those from EC countries increased by 19.6 per cent. Hungary's convertible imports in the first 11 months totalled 4.943 billion USD, of which imports from the EC made up 2.665 billion USD.

In 1989, Hungary's exports to EC countries were valued at 2.439 billion USD. With imports worth 2.584 billion USD this resulted in a deficit for Hungary of 145 million USD last year, compared to a surplus of 141 million USD in the first 11 months of this year.

Another remarkable result is that Hungary has accumulated a surplus with Germany, which is now Hungary's most important trading partner. Exports to Germany have reached 1.354 billion USD so far this year, an increase of 40 per cent. Imports were valued at 1.197 billion USD, a rise of only 1 per cent. Thus Hungary currently has a surplus of 157 million USD, as against a 200 million USD deficit last year.

RFE Correspondent on Future of Radio Station

AU1112165890 Budapest NEPSZABDSAG in Hungarian 6 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Laszlo Ribanszky, director of the Hungarian section of the Munich-based Radio Free Europe, by Gergely Bartfai; on the telephone from Munich, date not given: "Privatization of Radio Free Europe?"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] For decades, Radio Free Europe [RFE] was the only mass medium largely available in Hungary which did not reflect the current official standpoint of the state party. Since then, the situation has changed completely. Europe is not the same as it was two years ago, and RFE cannot operate as it did before. Several newspaper articles have recently hinted that all is not well within RFE.

We, therefore, asked Laszlo Ribanszky about the future of the institution.

[Ribanszky] Do you not have any easier questions? We are also preoccupied by the future position that we are going to assume in the changed world of mass media communications. Different ideas have emerged, including a partial or total privatization of RFE, or perhaps the transformation of RFE into a stock company, following a certain transitional period.

[Bartfai] Have I understood that correctly? Is RFE going to be a private enterprise?

[Ribanszky] This idea has also been put forward. The U.S. Congress agreed to our continued allocations for the fiscal year beginning in October 1990, so our budget is balanced until 30 September, 1991. No one knows what will happen after that, so we are preparing for all contingencies. We would like to prepare a detailed analysis of our situation at the beginning of 1991. It would be too early to talk about concrete facts before then. Incidentally, our colleagues from the Polish and Czechoslovak sections are in a similar predicament. We would also like to broadcast in Hungary, but that would only be possible once the Hungarian National Assembly has lifted its moratorium on airwaves, at long last—they have promised to do so by spring 1991—and then we would be able to broadcast on short wave or medium wave.

[Bartfai] So you think that RFE is needed even after the collapse of the Communist regime?

[Ribanszky] Absolutely. Our conviction is confirmed by the proof of personal experience: Hungary's changing society needs a mass medium that is independent of political parties. We are financially independent of the Hungarian State, and our colleagues have no personal political ambitions. To me, that constitutes a solid guarantee.

[Bartfai] That also implies that the Hungarian Radio is still not independent today.

[Ribanszky] All of us who listen to the Hungarian Radio or watch the Hungarian Television sense, day by day, that there is a political conflict going on within these institutions. Political parties would, pf course, not be parties if they did not try to influence the media. Personally, I think that it may well be that, one day, each political party in Hungary will have its own mass medium. This would not be unique in Europe, given that there are both political party radio stations and political party television stations in the Netherlands, for example. I would like to repeat that I would not be surprised if we were to witness a similar development in Hungary, after the lifting of the airwaves moratorium. Perhaps you would allow me to return to the reasons—apart from the aforementioned reasons—why we think that RFE has a role to play, even in this new situation. For years, we provided information for our listeners around the world. We have an extremely broad and well-developed information network. That is just how things worked out; this, of course, is no merit of ours, but it is a fact. In this area, therefore, we are certainly able to compete with the Budapest Radio. Furthermore, this has recently become true not only in the United States or Western Europe, but also in former socialist countries.

Poland's Skubiszewski Arrives in Budapest 11 Dec

LD1112145190 Budapest MTI in English 1259 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski arrived on a two-day official visit to Budapest on Tuesday, at the invitation of his counterpart, Geza Jeszenszky.

Skubiszewski will hold talks with his host shortly after his arrival, and then he will meet Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in the parliament building.

Holds Talks With Jeszenszky

LD1212050490 Warsaw PAP in English 2334 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, Dec. 11—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski arrived on an official visit to Budapest today paid at the invitation from Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

During a meeting, the two ministers discussed international affairs and reviewed the current situation in Central and Eastern Europe. It was stressed that irrespective of changes which may take place in the internal policies of both countries, Hungary and Poland should maintain close relations.

Skubiszewski stressed the fact that although the division of Europe caused by the affiliation to different military alliances has disappeared, but still there exist economic barriers. Hungary and Poland are interested in their liquidation, said Skubiszewski. The talks are to be continued on Wednesday.

Minister Skubiszewski was received by Cardinal Laszlo Paskai and by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. During the meetings, the sides discussed possibilities of the expansion of cooperation between Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Premier Antall confirmed that Hungary supports Poland's participation in cooperation within the pentagonal group.

Bilateral Relations Viewed

LD1112191390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] The friendly relations between Hungary and Poland will continue, no matter how the two countries' internal situations develop. The Polish and Hungarian foreign ministers said this at a meeting in Budapest. Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Geza Jeszenszky also agreed that Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia are in the vanguard of changes in Central and Eastern Europe, and for this reason it is necessary for them to continue to coordinate their social and economic reform measures. After these discussions, the Polish foreign minister was received by Cardinal-Primate Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom.

Transylvanian Writer Suto Refutes Accusations

AU1012152690 Budapest MTI in English 0942 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 7 Dec (MTI)—Transylvanian Writer Andras Suto, currently staying in Budapest, gave an interview to Friday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" following the interpolation by Senator Vasile Vacaru, head of the group of the National Salvation Front in the Senate, pressing for criminal proceedings to be taken against Laszlo Tokes, reformed bishop of Oradea, and Andras Suto for "breaking the law and making rabble-rousing remarks in their interviews abroad."

"I consider it unjustified and unlawful for such proceedings to be taken. Senator Vacaru's claim that I had broken the law was totally unsubstantiated by any words from my interviews. There is little doubt that the ultra-right and extremist nationalist forces who plotted my assassination in Tirgu Mures on March 19 are behind the initiative."

Question: Do you mean the forces of Vatra Romaneasca?

"Yes, I'm thinking of them particularly. But I hope that President Iliescu and the government circles in Bucharest will be sensible enough to publicly dissociate themselves from the initiative, which, in my opinion, is really bent on whipping up anti-Hungarian sentiments just at a time when Romania is about to go through another tough stint, rather than on isolating and devastating Laszlo Tokes and myself, intellectually and morally. Senator Vasile Vacaru must have been aware of the absurdity and senselessness of his proposal. But it may lend fresh impetus to chauvinistic propaganda, that is the real danger" Andras Suto, who is thinking of returning to Tirgu Mures with his wife, said.

Tyminski Holds Briefing on Criminal Code Charges

Willing To Face 'All Consequences'

LD1112120690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] At a press conference in Warsaw, Stanislaw Tyminski has confirmed that he has a ticket and is going to fly to Toronto tomorrow. He also said that he is prepared to see a prosecutor in Nowy Sacz where he has been summoned. He declared that he is prepared to put up bail of $100,000 and face all consequences, including a term in jail, if sentenced. Stanislaw Tyminski did not give a clear answer to a question on ther he is going to set up his own political party.

Hearing Set for 17 December

LD1112131890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] I have received a summons from the voivodship prosecutor's office in Nowy Sacz, Stanislaw Tyminski said during today's press conference in Warsaw. I have been suspected of an offense under Article 270, paragraph 1 of the penal code. I hope that this will not prevent me from going to Canada tomorrow morning. The hearing date has been set for 17 December, and we, my wife and myself, have not seen our children for two months. This trip for three days is important not only for my children, Stanislaw Tyminski said.

Says No Legal Basis for Protest

LD1112143690 Warsaw PAP in English 1301 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—Asked at today's press conference whether he was going to lodge an electoral protest, Stanislaw Tyminski said that now he had no legal basis to do so.

"I have received many phone calls from all over Poland. People were intimidated but I have no legal basis for this as there have not been any protests sent to the electoral commission. I have heard that many people are going to lodge such protests today," Tyminski said.

Plans To Return 5 Jan

LD1112224690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2125 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] After questioning Stanislaw Tyminski, the public prosecutor charged him with Article 270, paragraph 1 of the criminal code, for defaming Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Zakopane on 17 November.

[Begin recording] [Tyminski] I submitted a statement with respect to this charge to Mr. Jozef Poreba, the Novy Sacz public prosecutor, and following on from this statement I obtained surety from three people that I would return. They gave a pledge that I would return no later than 5 January. These are Professor Andrzej Zoll, chairman of the Electoral Commission, and two senators: Senator Rozmarynowicz and Senator Koziol.

[Unidentified reporter] Who?

[Chorus of voices] Koziol.

[Tyminski] A monetary guarantee was also necessary. This is a sum of $100,000. So I will return no later than 5 January.

[Reporter] What were the results of the questioning as far as you are concerned, sir?

[Tyminski] I said the same as I had said before.

[Reporter] You upheld your accusation, yes?

[Tyminski] I cannot change the words I said.

[Reporter] Which word did you use? Treason? Ignorance?

[Tyminski] Treason

[Reporter] Did you get in touch with Mr. Koziol and Mr. Rozmarynowicz?

[Tyminski] No. I am very grateful that the situation has been worked out this way, since we are talking here about the good of our country. [end recording]

Tyminski Interviewed Prior to 2d-Round Elections

AU1212090190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 5 Dec 90 pp 6-8

[Report on interview with presidential candidate Stanislaw Tyminski by Agnieszka Kublik; place and date not given: "Stan Tyminski—Presidential Candidate"]

[Text] Stanislaw Tyminski eagerly agreed to the interview with GAZETA WYBORCZA. We arranged to meet at 0800 at his present residence in Pecice (a hotel and conference center belonging to Warsaw municipality, where Tyminski has rented two apartments since 10 June 1990—one for himself, the other for Krzysztof Pawlisz, his secretary). Tyminski suggested a working breakfast and offered to send his own car to pick me up. At 0730 am there was a white Peugeot waiting for me outside my apartment. His secretary later told me: "You managed to get more out of the chief than anyone else."

Tyminski's entourage is apprehensive and nervous. One gets the impression that they are afraid that their chief's expectations will not be satisfied. The chauffeur who brought me is clearly afraid of Tyminski. We arrive about 30 minutes late and he will have to explain the delay. He does not know how Tyminski will react. His reactions can be unpredictable. All Tyminski's assistants know this.

The intention was to have a working breakfast first and hold the interview immediately after. Tyminski changes the schedule. He will give the interview without breakfast. Feigning to search for a cassette with the "right

background music" for the interview, the presidential candidate puts in a cassette and begins to record the conversation.

The interview begins with a series of questions from the candidate, which I assume are intended to put me on the defensive: "Who is paying you?" and "Does Moczulski have any shares in your newspaper?"

It is not only me who begins to feel irritated. Tyminski raises his voice when I mention the fact that he is to appear on a program entitled "Interpelacje." "I do not intend to be made a fool on 'Interpelacje' and I have no note of it from my staff. If there is no note from my campaign staff, then nothing has been agreed with the television." After half an hour of this type of talking, I am finally able to begin my interview.

The interview with Tyminski proves to be very difficult, because the presidential candidate avoids giving any concrete answers. He often repeats the phrase: "Pardon? I do not follow. What do you mean?" He also wanders about the room and is easily distracted by other things, for example, the view out of the window.

[Kublik] What made you decide to run for president?

[Tyminski] My life changed that day. I think it was 13 October.

[Kublik] You have said that your friends, acquaintances, and some members of the government encouraged you.

[Tyminski] They encouraged me. Quite simply there were various propositions. A few people contacted me and encouraged me to present my book to the general public. The book served me as my program.

[Kublik] Can you give names?

[Tyminski] After the election. These were private conversations. At my author's evening, there was a person from Gdansk, from the "Solidarity" National Committee and this person asked whether I would come to visit Gdansk. As the book's author I said that I would love to.

[Kublik] What sort of president do you want to be? What will be your first decision?

[Tyminski] What I feel from the present situation is that the state of our country is dramatic. As for a first decision, that is a stupid question, because there are so many first decisions.

[Kublik] I meant something that is important for you personally.

[Tyminski] That is why I want to meet with Balcerowicz and explain to him the plight of our country and that it will become necessary to introduce a state of emergency.

[Kublik] I do not understand.

[Tyminski] A first aid program for our economy.

[Kublik] What do you mean "a first aid program?" What are you thinking of?

[Tyminski] We have to set certain mechanisms in motion which will help people who are dying of hunger.

[Kublik] What mechanisms?

[Tyminski] For example, we have to freeze rents. Otherwise we shall carry on as we are indefinitely. I have already told you that these are the most important things. Naturally, we have to have a new prime minister and the possibility of creating a new government.

[Kublik] Who might be in your government? What sort of government would it be? How do you propose to find these people?

[Tyminski] A government of professionals. I would like it to be composed of qualified Poles from Poland and abroad.

[Kublik] Can you give names?

[Tyminski] I am preoccupied by the presidential campaign and have no time to look for these people.

[Kublik] In one of your interviews you stated that Balcerowicz could be a good prime minister. Later, you said that he is an intelligent person, a qualified and sound financier, but you stated "in Canada I employ financiers, and they are very useful at counting the money. No financier has come up with the answer on how to make money."

[Tyminski] The country needs to reform its banking system. Privatization should start from this.

[Kublik] Does this mean that you would not want to see Balcerowicz in your government?

[Tyminski] I did not say that. I merely indicated the possibilities for Balcerowicz. I would like to talk to him. My secretary tried to phone him six times, but to no avail.

[Kublik] In your book you write that whoever runs for president must say how they intend to divide the budgetary cake. How do you intend to divide the budget?

[Tyminski] I have brought with me splendid computer programs which can be used on the budget. They will also enable us to ascertain Poland's situation in the international arena.

[Kublik] How would you divide up the budget?

[Tyminski] The present budget clearly shows that the government has chosen the totalitarian way. I repeat the totalitarian way.

[Kublik] What do you propose?

[Tyminski] My proposition is to have a democratic budget. This means that we have to create conditions for full monetary democracy.

[Kublik] What part of the budget would you spend on the health service, the police, or the Army?

[Tyminski] Above all we have to eliminate the budget reserve which has risen to 30 percent of the state's income.

[Kublik] What vision of the future do you have?

[Tyminski] Above all, I see our country as a prosperous country. It can again be a beautiful realm.

[Kublik] What period of history are you thinking of?

[Tyminski] The period of King Jan Kazimierz and other Polish kings. All their achievements were subsequently wasted.

[Kublik] During one of your press conferences you said "within three years we shall be prosperous, and within one month we shall feel a real improvement, if we observe the guidelines" in your book. Is this possible?

[Tyminski] It is important that we open the government's books, that Mr. Balcerowicz opens the government's financial books.

[Kublik] What do you mean "open the books"?

[Tyminski] Bookkeeping.

[Kublik] You said that "within three years we shall be prosperous, and within one month we shall see a real improvement."

[Tyminski] Of course, of course, but we have to begin by learning the truth.

[Kublik] Is it possible that all Poles will feel a real improvement within one month? Please tell us how you intend to do this.

[Tyminski] Above all, we have had a totalitarian system. This was not a communist system, because I have never come across a communist.

[Kublik] I repeat my question, is prosperity possible?

[Tyminski] But of course. If we can abandon the totalitarian system which persisted in our country for decades, we shall be able to create conditions for development and a standard of life that people enjoy when they flee to the West from Poland.

[Kublik] I would like you to persuade me that it is possible to notice real improvement or prosperity within one month, as you have said. How will this be possible?

[Tyminski] Through a change of the tax structure and tax reforms.

(During the discussion on the tax system, Tyminski was clearly agitated. He got up, paced about the room, gesticulated, and gave me disapproving looks.)

[Kublik] What would this reform be?

[Tyminski] Tax reforms should mean that everyone who works and earns ought to pay tax. How much in taxes do you pay? Are you a citizen of this country, or a tax evader?

[Kublik] Do tell us what you intend to do so that "within one month we shall feel a real improvement"? How do you intend to change the tax system? I would like details.

[Tyminski] Alright, in detail and in general terms. Namely, fifty-fifty. Half of what you earn. Half would go to the government so that it has sufficient money to maintain the forces of law and order, pay pensions, and can prevent the unnecessary deaths of so many people.

[Kublik] Can you tell us what you think of General Jaruzelski's decision to introduce martial law?

[Tyminski] Let us finish with the past. The future is more important.

(Tyminski becomes agitated for the second time. He raises his voice and stares at me for long periods).

[Kublik] At your penultimate press conference at "Interpress" you said that in 1981 we were threatened by "our own hand." What is your view of what happened?

[Tyminski] I wrote about this in my book "Sacred Dogs." First we had 1980, then 1981. Please look at the economic indicators, the economy, and the 30-percent fall. This was caused by a wave of strikes and disorder. Before that, we had something different. Indebtedness. Gierek received large sums of money without any guarantees in the 1970's.

[Kublik] What is your opinion of what has taken place in the last 10 years?

[Tyminski] What happened must be interpreted by every one of us.

[Kublik] How do personally interpret it?

[Tyminski] I understand that the nation is disillusioned.

[Kublik] Will things not get better if Walesa wins?

[Tyminski] I think they will [sentence as published]. Mr. Walesa had his chance. History never gives you a second chance to repeat your success. You only have to chicken out once and your chance slips. Instead of going in yourself, you send in a trusted man and that trusted man fails—I am talking about Mr. Mazowiecki. I am certain of victory.

[Kublik] What is your opinion of Walesa's role?

[Tyminski] I understand that he jumped over the fence. So I have heard. He got out first and left everybody behind, and so he had to get back. His only way of doing it was to jump back in again.

[Kublik] Does this mean that you explain the events of 1981 by economic factors and the state of the Polish economy?

[Tyminski] The essential element was that there was rapid cash flow into Poland. Suddenly, this money dried up, society become disillusioned and instead of prosperity we got shortages. The supply of televisions, cars, and other things dried up. This was devastating. Our economy was running on borrowed money.

[Kublik] What is your opinion of Walesa's role in 1980 and 1981?

[Tyminski] Opinions are divided.

[Kublik] What is your opinion?

[Tyminski] My opinion? My opinion is also confused.

[Kublik] What does that mean?

[Tyminski] I would have to say something about the "Solidarity" movement. This movement was very dignified and I tried very hard to come to Poland and take part in the movement. It was a very strong and unified movement. At this moment, looking back over the decade—here I am comparing it with Gierek's decade—I would say that Mr. Walesa's decade has produced an even greater crisis that of 1980. Walesa had his chance, he could have joined the government, but he got scared. He split "Solidarity."

[Kublik] In 1980?

[Tyminski] No, in 1989. He could have done it under the sign [pod znakiem czerwca] of June, instead he chose to put in his trusted man as prime minister. This trusted man has now emerged as a Stalinist.

[Kublik] What is the difference between Walesa and Mazowiecki?

[Tyminski] The whole country has been able to see for itself. He is very active, he speaks very fast using slogans, and he is very strong.

[Kublik] What is your view on Mazowiecki's role?

[Tyminski] He suffers greatly.

[Kublik] What is your opinion on Walesa's and Mazowiecki's achievements?

[Tyminski] The economy has collapsed. It would have been better if nobody had done anything. If nothing had been done it would have been four times better.

[Kublik] What did you mean when you stated that Mazowiecki betrayed the nation?

[Tyminski] For me it was a very important statement in the economic sense. Mazowiecki did absolutely nothing, it is as if he had never left his house.

[Kublik] In what way did Mazowiecki's betray the nation?

[Tyminski] Although it is a very severe word, I used it in the sense of being ignorant of the nation's interests.

[Kublik] In that case what does being ignorant mean?

[Tyminski] Being oblivious to the true state of our economy.

[Kublik] What is your view on the three politicians; Walesa; Jaruzelski; and Mazowiecki?

[Tyminski] At the present moment I am in the second round. I only have one opponent. Walesa is his name. Your whole interview has asked me questions on the past. Why? In this second round I am saying "Our slogan is: Concord and our fatherland." The saddest thing is that nobody wants to know how I see the future. Nobody asks me how I see Poland in one, three, or five years.

[Kublik] Let us imagine that it is 1995. What sort of Poland do you envisage?

[Tyminski] Able to compete with other countries of the world. Including Canada, England, France, Germany, Japan, and South Korea—in short, with all the countries who have specialized technologies.

[Kublik] What sort of political system do we have?

[Tyminski] A democracy. Everybody who wants to can earn and pay taxes.

[Kublik] And there is no unemployment?

[Tyminski] None.

[Kublik] What will our agriculture, industry, cities, look like in five years?

[Tyminski] In Germany, for example, there are smallholdings of half a hectare and these plots are carefully farmed using organic fertilizer.

[Kublik] I apologize for having to raise the matter, but the press has written various things about you.

[Tyminski] Let us talk about the future.

[Kublik] I think these things have to be clarified, because....

[Tyminski] The press disgraced itself.

[Kublik] I only want to clear matters.

[Tyminski] Look, you know that there is substantial unemployment among journalists. It is worse than in other sectors. Almost 30 percent of journalists are unemployed. Do I make myself clear?

[Kublik] No. Are you suggesting that they are unemployed, because they wrote that about you?

[Tyminski] They all worked for the government.

[Kublik] But, if you are willing, we can clear the whole matter up.

[Tyminski] What is there to explain?

[Kublik] All the accusations.

[Tyminski] We are going to sue ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

[Kublik] ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote that "the reason that Stanislaw Tyminski was found unfit for military service was because of psychiatric illness. This manifested itself through frequent epileptic fits with behavioral and mental swings."

[Tyminski] You should put this question to ZYCIE WARSZAWY. We are suing.

[Kublik] This would imply that this is a lie....

[Tyminski] The government press is accusing a candidate.

[Kublik] Therefore it is untrue that the reason you were unfit for military service was your epilepsy.

[Tyminski] I am telling you officially, as a representative of an official newspaper, that these are all lies.

[Kublik] You have also been accused of collaborating with the security services. WOKANDA has written that "you were in Sweden, trying to earn some money, and suddenly the Polish security service made its appearance...."

[Tyminski] You are talking rubbish again. It is all lies. Let us leave it at that. Have you come to speak with me about the past?

[Kublik] I think that quite simply we have to clarify these things.

[Tyminski] It is all lies. Satisfied?

[Kublik] Everything that has been written to date?

[Tyminski] Yes. Now let us move on to something else.

[Kublik] Did you visit Poland through Tripoli?

[Tyminski] I have told you that I do not want to talk about lies.

[Kublik] I read it in the papers and thought it would be a good opportunity to clarify these matters.

[Tyminski] They write lies.

[Kublik] You have never come to Poland through Tripoli, you have never collaborated with the security services, and you have never suffered from epilepsy?

[Tyminski] It is all lies.

[Kublik] In your interview with DZIENNIK LODZKI, you stated that during the last ten years you frequently visited Poland.

[Tyminski] You are wasting time.

[Kublik] Are you saying you never visited Poland in the 1980's?

[Tyminski] What time is it?

[Kublik] It is 0933.

[Tyminski] You are wasting time. I am a busy man. These are all lies. Are you trying to upset me? Do you want to terminate this interview?

[Kublik] No, of course not.

[Tyminski] Then let us talk about the future. We are in the second round of the campaign. Why do you as a journalist deny me the right to talk about the future? I am a very busy man and you are in danger of losing your job.

[Kublik] That is my problem. I think this is important....

[Tyminski] You did not prepare for this interview. GAZETA WYBORCZA can go to Libya and check. You are behaving in a way that is unbecoming a journalist. You are wasting time on trivia.

[Kublik] Are you of the opinion that the clarification of all these things is unimportant?

[Tyminski] I have explained all these matters on television. ZYCIE WARSZAWY will find itself in court. We are talking about the future, namely, true economic independence for the first time since the war and you choose to waste time and jeopardize your career.

[Kublik] Will you return to Canada or Peru if you do not become president?

[Tyminski] I cannot return. I have become a symbol for my supporters. They are hoping I will win. My support is growing.

[Kublik] You have said that you do not want to form any political party.

[Tyminski] Correct. If people gather around me and see me as a symbol, do they need a party card? It is hearts that are needed to achieve something. I hope that all those who vote against me will also bear this in mind. I am not talking about politics, but true Polish independence. I repeat "Our slogan is: Concord and our fatherland." This comes from our national anthem.

[Kublik] You are saying that it is not a question of politics but of true independence. Does this mean that independence is not linked to politics?

[Tyminski] At the present moment politics is not as important as economics, because there is an opportunity to achieve true economic independence. Both East and West have allowed it.

[Kublik] What about political independence?

[Tyminski] There are 186 political parties in Poland.

[Kublik] Is that too few or too many?

[Tyminski] It is not up to me to say.

[Kublik] But what is your personal opinion?

[Tyminski] It is a large number. Whether there are a hundred more or a hundred less is of no interest to me, because I am an independent candidate. Why should I want to create yet another political party? I am fighting for economic harmony in the country and true independence on the international arena.

[Kublik] Economic independence?

[Tyminski] Yes. Our totalitarian system did not allow us to develop. One could not make money in Poland. Now we have an opportunity. We have many strong cards to play. We are already a rich country.

[Kublik] In your book you write, "The most effective weapon for Poland is an intelligent missile of medium range armed with a nuclear warhead of about a megaton." Does this mean that Poland should possess a nuclear arsenal?

[Tyminski] At present we do not need nuclear weapons, because there is no threat.

[Kublik] Should we have nuclear weapons or not?

[Tyminski] It is not necessary at present.

[Kublik] What companies do you own in Canada and Peru? What shareholdings do you have in these companies?

[Tyminski] In Canada I own 67 percent of a company called "Transduction," which I founded 16 years ago.

[Kublik] What does the company do?

[Tyminski] It specializes in automated systems for industry.

[Kublik] How many people do you employ?

[Tyminski] We have 15 employees and about contract out work for 300.

[Kublik] What do you produce?

[Tyminski] Industrial computers. Computers that work reliably for five to 10 years.

[Kublik] Who buys your products?

[Tyminski] Nuclear establishments, power stations, petrochemical works, sugar beet factories, coal mines, and steel works.

[Kublik] What about the military?

[Tyminski] They could be used by the military. If the product is resistant to shocks, if the military wants to install it in tanks or helicopters, then they can do so.

[Kublik] Which countries does your company have business links with?

[Tyminski] With the United States and Saudi Arabia.

[Kublik] What other company do you own in Canada?

[Tyminski] For the last three years I have owned a 15 hectare farm where I grow strawberries, Christmas trees, and vegetables.

[Kublik] Do you intend to dispose of your stock in your Canadian firm?

[Tyminski] I do not feel I have to. My partner—who is a very good manager—owns 33 percent of the stock. He is a New Zealander, and a Canadian citizen. We have been partners for the last 10 years.

[Kublik] Who owns the cable television station in Peru?

[Tyminski] My wife, because at the time the company was set up, I did not have Peruvian citizenship. Peruvian law does not allow noncitizens to be owners of telecommunication companies. I own two telecommunication firms.

[Kublik] You or your wife?

[Tyminski] She is the president of that company and does the accounts. She is also the owner of the radiotelephone company called "Digitel."

[Kublik] Some Canadian journalists have written that you are not a well known businessman there, nobody has heard of you, and you are almost totally unknown among the Polish community in Canada. You have said that you are well known in Canada. Who is right?

[Tyminski] This is very strange, because I have been a leader of a political party in Canada for the last 15 years. For the first time in history, an emigre Pole has been elected to a legal and active oppositionist party. The Polish community chose to ignore this fact.

[Kublik] Aleksander Pruszynski writing for the biweekly EXPRESS says: "Stanislaw Tyminski's popularity in Poland is hard to explain. Mr. Staniczek Tyminski—as we call him here in Toronto—is little known in Polish emigre circles here. He has not taken any part in the manifestations that we—free Poles, desirous of seeing Polish independence—frequently organized in front of the Polish consulate here.

[Tyminski] Mr. Pruszynski? I have never met him personally. He came to Poland just before the June 1989 election and wanted to become a senator, but he only got a few signatures despite the fact that he tried very hard. He visited Walesa several times in Gdansk to pay his respects. I do not know what the man wants from me. He has problems in Toronto. I think that he will have even more after the stupidities he has written about me. I do not know what the state of his finances is, seeing that he has taken to writing such rubbish.

[Kublik] How much more money are you prepared to invest in your presidential campaign?

[Tyminski] I do not know. My wife takes care of the accounts. She keeps all the accounts into a cardboard box.

[Kublik] You do not know?

[Tyminski] No, because she takes care of all the bills.

[Kublik] Does it not interest you?

[Tyminski] No. I have full confidence in my wife. I first married in 1970, when I was 21. My first wife was Finnish and a Lutheran. I met her in Sweden and she came to Canada. We have an 18 year-old son. He is preparing for his high school exams. He does not speak Finnish or Polish.

[Kublik] When did you marry for the second time?

[Tyminski] In 1984. I have three children from my present marriage, two girls and a boy. In fact I have five children, because my wife has a son from her first marriage.

[Kublik] Do you long for the jungle?

[Tyminski] The first years were extremely difficult. The jungle will always be in my heart, but from a distance.

[Kublik] Would you like to return there?

[Tyminski] I would like to meet with those people. To be together and among each other. A return, however, will not be possible. I had to accept this before deciding to run for the Presidency.

[Kublik] Does your Peruvian experience mean a great deal for you? From your book, it emerges that this was a very important period for you. A period of inner regeneration and growth of your personality.

[Tyminski] It was a very valuable period. I will always remain a part of the jungle. I first saw that the jungle contains real people and life. They have not been tainted with money. I realized that up till that time I had not been a true human, but a money-making machine in Canada.

(Tyminski likes to talk about the jungle and looks relaxed. Questions about the Amazon jungle are not a threat to him. He stops pacing about the room. He sits quietly and looks dreamily into the distance. He has a smile on his face.)

[Kublik] How did the jungle help you to understand this?

[Tyminski] To understand this you have to go there. One has to experience Indian rituals. It is a very special thing. It is difficult to talk about it in great detail, because we are running out of time. It is a deep spiritual experience. It is a deep spiritual and religious experience.

[Kublik] What happens to one? What does one hear or see?

[Tyminski] One can see things that one would not normally see. It is a broadening of the way one perceives the world. It brought me close to the Catholic Church. It allowed me to see the true meaning of the church. It is always the same thing, namely, close contact with God.

[Kublik] What do you mean, close contact with God?

[Tyminski] It depends, because every individual experiences it differently.

[Kublik] How did you experience it?

[Tyminski] I am a man who believes in God. If I were a nonbeliever, I would not have taken part in this campaign. The campaign demands such strength that one needs an external source of this strength. One has not got such strength within one.

[Kublik] How am I to understand what you are saying?

[Tyminski] Such help is only given from above at times of important campaigns and significant situations.

[Kublik] What do you mean "help from above."

[Tyminski] One has to pray so that one finds understanding. People who do not have this understanding find themselves in difficulties. Every religion is based on this to ensure that one does not continue to live in suffering on life's rocky path. One can build such beautiful things, a beautiful future, and a beautiful prosperity, when one bases oneself on religion. Those are the principles underlying the Constitution of the United States of America. It is one of the most religious documents ever. Please take a look at the U.S. dollar—a one dollar bill—on one side we have the pyramid with the eye of the Holy Trinity.

(The interview ends, because Tyminski has guests from Wroclaw. "If you see who these people are, you will understand and leave," he says. I did not understand. The faces of the people were totally unknown to me.)

Miodowicz, Socialists Congratulate Walesa

LD1212080190 Warsaw PAP in English 2344 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—Polish President-elect Lech Walesa received today more congratulatory cables from Poland and abroad.

Alfred Miodowicz, on behalf of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), wrote that Poles pinned great hopes on Walesa as president. The unionists believe that Walesa's presidency will serve well the interests of the working people.

The Polish Socialist Party (PPS) wrote that the election of Walesa to the post of president-elect opened up a new stage of the development of real democracy in the country.

Three deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet expressed a conviction that Walesa would support the expansion and consolidation of the goodneighbourly relations between Poland and Lithuania. The cable was signed by editor-in-chief of the KURIER WILENSKI

daily Zbigniew Balcewicz, deputy chairman of the association of Polish scientists in Lithuania Medard Czobot and publisher of the ZNAD WILII by-weekly Czeslaw Okinczyc.

"We want to assure you Mr. President that you can count on support on the part of the Polish countryside," activists of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) of the Malopolska region wrote.

Walesa Resigns Solidarity Union Chairmanship

LD1212115490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The Solidarity National Commission started its meeting today at 0900. It was opened with a short speech by Lech Walesa, who stated that he would leave the chamber after one and a half hours of discussion, and because he was now submitting his resignation as chairman of the union he would like, when leaving, to know who was going to take his chair and take on all the responsibilities until the extraordinary congress. He proposed that the decision be made democratically and that that person be Bogdan Borusewicz, head of the Gdansk regional board. Immediately voices were raised saying that there was no need for such a choice as two deputy chairmen of the union remained. Mr. Borusewicz also officially spoke out against his candidacy.

As Lech Walesa had announced, for more than an hour the future of the union and also the future of Poland were discussed with the former chairman being addressed as president elect. When he left the meeting chamber the discussion was concluded, but no decision had been made as to who would be his successor.

Deputy Chairmen Assume Leadership

LD1212144490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] The Solidarity National Commission has adopted a resolution in which it thanks Lech Walesa for his contribution to the creation of the union and Polish reforms. Taking his leave of the National Commission and the entire union, Lech Walesa appealed for Solidarity to continue to be a public movement supporting the reforms, joining in the democratic processes, and taking part in the approaching parliamentary election. It is time for the Polish car, he said, to finally move forward. Lech Walesa assured those present that he was going to the Belweder [presidential palace] to serve the nation and Poland.

The National Commission did not accept Lech Walesa's proposal for Bogdan Borusewicz, the head of the Gdansk region, to carry out the duties of chairman until the extraordinary congress. It was finally agreed by vote to make no changes in the composition of the Presidium and, by a majority of votes, the leadership of the union was entrusted, in accordance with the statue, to the two current deputy Solidarity chairmen, Lech Kaczynski and Stefan Jurczak.

President Jaruzelski Delivers Farewell Speech

LD1112204290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1820 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Speech by Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] My fellow countrymen, citizens of the Polish Republic—my service to the state is drawing to a close. The new president of the Polish Republic soon will be taking over this high office. I send best wishes to Mr. Lech Walesa, with sincere thoughts on our mutual homeland. Once again, I congratulate him on his election. I wish him the fruitful fulfilment of his important and highly responsible mission.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, for a thousand years we have been living in the heart of Europe. We therefore, do not need to return to her, but we must keep up with her. Poland has a material debt, but she does not have a moral debt. On the contrary, how often has Polish blood, sweat, and thought served others? Today, we also do not stand at the sidelines. Our country has become the source for deep change in this part of the world. (? Would) that our future also be a good example. We must be mindful of our secure, national existence, the strong state, a good Army, while at the same time strengthening peace and having friends both near and far. We wish for Europe to really become a common home. Poland should have a worthy place within it. Let the continuity of our state, its dignity and credibility in the world, be a common treasure of the whole nation.

Now, please let me devote some time to personal thoughts. I am one of many among the millions of Poles of my generation. It was my fate to live and work at the Polish crossroads and, at a great crossroads. Did I manage this life granted by fate well? Probably none of my contemporaries who lived through the war with arms in their hands, who did not spare their efforts over the past decades, are free of such questions. The higher the function which life allocates, the greater the burden of responsibility. Thus, the reckoning is harsher. I am neither the first, nor the only, Polish politician and soldier who sometimes had to go against the tide, had to make decisions which did not add to his applause, and experience a lack of understanding, painful indecision, humiliation and bitterness.

The history of every nation is not just the sum of its destiny, but also of those events which were avoided. Let the experiences of the past be a lesson and a warning to all of us. It is human to err, and so I have, but I have not lost my way in the wilderness. The good of the state, its prestige, stability and the inviolability of the borders, the will to save Poland from tragedy, and the people from suffering, always guided me. This is the road I tried to follow. On the other hand, I understand that one cannot measure human fortunes on a statistical diagram. Every wrong, every pain, every injustice has its own name. I am aware that there have been many of them. I carry it as a thorn in my flesh.

As a soldier, I know that the commander, and so also every superior, is responsible for everyone and everything. The word sorry may sound somewhat trite. I, however, cannot find another one. Therefore, I would like to ask you one thing: If time has not dampened the anger of repugnance in some of you, then let that be addressed first and foremost at me. Let that not affect the people who, in those specific conditions, honestly and in the best of faith did not spare their work for the rebuilding and the construction of our homeland.

By its very nature, society has been and will be differentiated. But it should not be divided and at loggerheads with itself. Diversity makes it richer. Being at loggerheads makes it poorer and weaker. What joins us is a hundred times more important than that what divides us. Because people always go, and problems remain, it is necessary to solve them by a joint effort, here and now, on the soil of our fathers, in our own, independent country.

Dear ladies and gentlemen, you cannot escape your own history. In the long run, it is not possible to either enhance or deface it. You do not choose your own history, you have it. I have always treated my presidency as one of the elements linking the Poland of yesterday with the one which will enter the 21st century.

As far as I could, and with the best possible will, I tried to carry out my numerous duties conscientiously, but without seeking prominence. I acted to represent our state proudly and efficiently. I collaborated loyally with the parliament and the government. At home and abroad, in my public speeches and conversations with statesmen, I tried to win understanding and support for the changes taking place in Poland. Let others judge how well I succeeded in this. I shall always remember this time, during which I had to travel this impossibly hard road along with the millions of people of Poland's towns and villages.

Today, I would sincerely like to thank all those who offered me their friendship, trust, and support. I am also grateful for the ample evidence of goodwill expressed in your letters and statements during various meetings and contacts. It raised my spirits and helped me to get going whenever things were difficult.

I came to Belweder as a man of the Polish left, with the burden of its faults but also with a sense of its achievements. I exercised my powers without fear of favor, above divisions. I am leaving still convinced that the road of compromise, accord and reconciliation, started at the roundtable, is the safest road for Poland. Only this can we protect public peace, strengthen the democratic order and improve the people's material standards. May Poland be a politically ethical country, free of the horrors of hatred and intolerance, aware of its great opportunities and vigilant toward challenges and threats. May it be strong through the wisdom of its authorities and its public, their perseverance and energy directed towards the future, that is, first and foremost towards the economy. For centuries, the latter has not been our strongest point. That is why it has to be the main area of struggle for an easier life for Poles, for a better future. I would like this new, emerging Poland to be a land which is good toward men, a modern and fair country, which, while liberating economic initiative, does not forget the weak, and guarantees an equal start in life and personal safety for every citizen, which protects its own culture and nature, and which assures everyone that it is worth working and worth living here, in Poland.

With this thought in mind I bid you, ladies and gentlemen, a sincere ferewell. I wish Polish families all the best. I wish my fellow countrymen many bright and happy days.

Supreme Court Acquits Defendants on 1986 Charges

LD1112143190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] The military chamber of the Supreme Court has considered the extraordinary appeal to the case of Zbigniew Bujak, Ewa Kulik, and Alicja Komorowska. The court has dismissed the charge of attempts to overthrow the state system by force under which they were tried in 1986. The penal proceedings have been quashed as the Supreme Court decided that actions attributed to them were not of a criminal nature.

Negotiations on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Begin

LD1112130990 Warsaw PAP in English 1204 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—Polish-Soviet negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and the transit through the territory of Poland of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Germany started here today with the participation of representatives of Poland's Foreign Ministry, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources.

Talks Held on USSR Oil, Gas, Electricity

LD1112224790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Soviet experts say that next year the Soviet Union can deliver to Poland only 4.5 million tonnes of oil, 6.6 billion cubic meters of gas, and over 6.6 billion kilowatts of electricity. These figures were quoted by representatives of planning offices of both countries during difficult talks for the past six days, which ended today.

As of next year, both parties will have to settle their accounts in dollars at world prices. The Soviet side acknowledged that we may benefit more as a result of direct agreements with republics and enterprises. Let us recall that until recently we were importing over 13 million tonnes of oil.

Mock Opens General Consulate in Krakow

AU1112154490 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 10 Dec 90 p 2

[APA report: "Poland: Mock Opens General Consulate in Krakow"]

[Text] Krakow—Few other historic centers of power and culture show so clearly that Europe belongs together and is a single entity, Foreign Minister Alois Mock stated over the weekend [8-9 December] when he opened a general consulate in Krakow. At the same time, Mock admitted that problems have occurred in connection with the compulsory visas that Austria introduced for Polish citizens. On the sidelines of the ceremony, Mock held talks with his counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski on the abolition of the compulsory visas, demanded by Warsaw. The ministers also discussed questions concerning cooperation with the Pentagonal group. In Rome Mock recently advocated the acceptance of Poland as a full member in regional cooperation in Central Europe.

Mock also announced in Krakow that, in addition to Maribor and Poznan, reading rooms will be opened in Bratislava, Brno, and Udine before the end of the year. In 1991 libraries will be set up in Szeged, Szombathely, Sarajevo, Sofia, Moscow, and Kiev.

3d-Round Negotiations With Germany Begin

LD1012193790 Berlin ADN in German 1827 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—The third round of German-Polish negotiations on the treaty on good-neighborliness and cooperation began in Warsaw on Monday. The Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman described the atmosphere on the first of the two days of talks as "constructive and friendly." Further sections of the treaty text were agreed on.

The joint aim of both sides is to conclude the negotiations by the end of January 1991, so that the basic treaty can be ratified by both parliaments together with the already signed border treaty by the end of February. Hence the negotiators will meet as often as possible, the Polish spokesman said. The two delegation leaders, Dieter Kastrup and Jerzy Sulek, were received on Monday by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Next Round in Bonn 10-11 Jan

LD1212045790 Warsaw PAP in English 2309 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 11—The 3rd round of Polish-German negotiations on the treaty on good neighbourly relations and partnerly cooperation ended after two days of debates here today.

The delegations, in tune with earlier arrangements made by heads of governments of both states, confirmed the intention to end the negotiations by the end of January 1991. It was agreed that the next round of talks will be held in Bonn on January 10 and 11, 1991.

Chairmen of both delegations, Director of the Political Department at the FRG Foreign Ministry Dieter Kastrup and Director of the Department for Europe at the Polish Foreign Ministry Jerzy Sulek, were received by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Asked about details of the talks, Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski said that in the hitherto course of negotiations sides agreed on the majority of articles of the future treaty.

Klaczynski added that it was possible thanks to the businesslike atmosphere of the already held talks, during which both sides many time manifested their good will.

TU, Government Dispute Continues; Protests Held

Demonstration Held in Bucharest 10 Dec

AU1012153090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] A rally organized by the Fratia [Brotherhood] Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Alliance of Inter-Trade Union Confederation, the Hercules Confederation, the Convention of Nonaffiliated Free Trade Unions of Romania, and the Alfa Trade Union Cartel has begun in Bucharest's Aviators' Square, at 1400 hours [1200 GMT], in protest of the government's policies toward the trade unions. The speakers criticized the government's economic policy and the government's attitude toward workers' requirements and trade union claims. Furthermore, those who took the floor said that they would use all forms of trade union struggle until the government revises its position toward trade union claims. Participants in the rally chanted antigovernmental and anti-presidential slogans and called for a general strike.

Sibiu Drivers Striking; No Strike in Iasi

AU1112182290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The Sibiu branch of the Drivers' Trade Unions of Romania went on an unlimited strike after claims contained in a petition sent to Prime Minister Petre Roman. The strike does not affect supply.

Transport enterprises in Iasi said their workers had refused to join in the drivers' all-country strike. As a matter of fact, they are not affiliated to the respective trade union.

Timisoara Students Begin Strike 11 Dec

AU1112152390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1415 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—Most of the students of the four higher-learning institutes in Timisoara went on strike. Strikers' pickets at the gates of these institutions check everyone coming in, students included. Academic activities proceed normally at the Epidemiology Department of the Medical School and the Zootechny Faculty of the Agronomic Institute. Talks on future activities between the dean's office and students got under way in many faculties.

Classroom Entry Prevented

AU1212090490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2301 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/12/1990—A big number of students in the university centre of Timisoara started a strike on December 11, at the call of the Convention of the Students Organizations there. At the Polytechnic, the University and the Institute of Medicine pickets of striking students prevent those who would like to continue their activity from entering the class rooms. However, the medical and agricultural science students were present during the day at courses, certain applicative activities in labs and hospitals.

The Free Union of the Polytechnic conveyed to the press a release announcing that it did not and will not start strike for political claims.

Strikers Threaten To Block Roads

AU1212090690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2305 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/12/1990—As a consequence of the general strike called by the Romanian Drivers' Union, traffic has been embarrassed [as received] Tuesday, 11 December, on some of the avenues penetrating Bucharest.

A spokesman of Bucharest Police Headquarters, stated to a ROMPRES correspondent that heavy-duty motor-vehicles had been clustered on lanes 1 and 2 of access motor ways to Bucharest, which makes traffic difficult. Strikers admit free passage only to private cars and transport vehicles supplying the capital.

A drivers' union leader involved in the strike said roads would be blocked until the outcome of the talks between trade union representatives and the government are made public.

University Traffic Blocked 11 Dec

AU1212090890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2319 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/12/1990—On December 11 evening groups of citizens occupied in the Bucharest University Square the traffic lane toward the Romana Square—the Unirii Square. Police intervened and deblocked the street restoring the traffic.

Just like the previous evening, after the police took action, a number of citizens returned to the traffic lane, upsetting the traffic. Boisterous demonstrators threw stones at the police.

At 9 p.m. the situation became normal in the University Square. The police withdrew, after having helped the traffic to resume. Small groups of people were still present on the sideways.

Leaders Present TU Claims on TV

AU1212091090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2350 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/12/1990—At the television news program on December 11 Dumitru Dumitrescu and Tudor Florescu, representatives of the Drivers' Union of Romania, referred to the negotiations

between the union and the government held in the presence of the country's president invited to mediate.

The union representatives also referred to the negotiations that started on December 11 at the government headquarters with state minister Ion Aurel Stoica.

After recalling the claims of the union members, Dumitrescu and Florescu mentioned that the drivers' strike would continue until the settlement of the petition advanced to the executive.

Trade Unions, Government Meet With Iliescu

AU1112152990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1412 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—A meeting between Trade Union Confederations and representatives of the government, intended to provide for the establishment of a framework within which the dialogue between trade unions and the executive may be maintained, opened at the Cotroceni Palace on Tuesday [11 December] morning in the presence of Romania's President Ion Iliescu, whom the trade union had asked to act as a mediator.

The meeting is attended by Mr. Petre Roman, prime minister, Mr.Ion Aurel Stoica, minister of state in charge of the quality of life and social protection, Mr. Adrian Severin, minister of state, assistant to the prime minister for the economic reform, advisers to the Romanian president, as well as representatives of the Trade Union Confederation in the Metal Industry, the Construction Workers' Trade Union Confederation, the "Fratia" Confederation, the "Hercules" Confederation, the Inter-Trade Union Alliance, the Non- Affiliated Free Trade Unions Convention, the "Alfa" Cartel and the Drivers' Trade Union.

Minister Severin Reports on Talks

AU1112173490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 11 Dec 90

["Exclusive" interview with Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the parliament on government-trade union talks; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed listeners, after today's meeting between government and trade union representatives at Cotroceni Palace, in the presence of President Ion Iliescu, Minister Adrian Severin gave an exclusive interview to our radio station. Mircea Rucareanu was the reporter. Here is this interview:

[Rucareanu] Mr. Minister Adrian Severin, you participated in today's meeting with the trade union confederations, which, as announced, took place in Cotroceni. Our radio station hopes to obtain some first-hand information from you. All we know is that the discussion lasted for several hours.

[Severin] Indeed, we had a long talk today, lasting for almost 6 hours, with the main trade union confederations and groups. The meeting was attended by the prime minister, by State Minister Aurel Stoica, and by myself, on behalf of the government. President Ion Iliescu and his aides were also present.

I am inclined to describe this meeting as being rather intense in observations and exchanges of opinions. I would define the talks as frank, almost brutally frank, which, anyhow, contributed to a better understanding of our mutual viewpoints. I believe that one of the main gains of this meeting is the fact that the dialogue between the government and trade unions has been relaunched. Another key gain is that nobody questioned the validity of reform problem; moreover, the trade unions and their representatives further expressed their endorsement for the reform program and even asked that it continue to be applied firmly and at a faster pace.

The problems raised at the meeting and the most vehement criticism dealt, on the one hand, with the implementation—or better said, the imperfect implementation—of reforms and, at the same time, with the fact that the governmental apparatus—not at the top, but within the government and in the governmental apparatus—also includes people who failed to show enough subtlety, flexibility, and spirit for compromise and dialogue. Great emphasis was laid on these problems, along with other issues of a local and private nature. As I said, there were some tough and harsh exchanges at times. However, I believe that beyond this aspect, the talks emphasized the desire to make a sincere exchange of views and reach certain concrete conclusions.

In this respect, the sides reached the conclusion that, within the already existing joint commission—which was set up on the basis of a convention signed on 4 December 1990 by the Government and the trade unions—negotiations should be held next Thursday primarily on the trade union observations and desires concerning the adoption of certain laws of a social nature or of direct interest to the trade union activity. To be more precise, the laws on unemployment, strikes, trade unions, salaries, and collective labor contracts were examined. Consequently, regarding this package of laws, the trade unions will discuss with the government various reasons for concern and dissatisfaction with the texts of the normative acts—or better said, of the respective draft normative acts—so that, to the extent that agreement can be reached on a common draft, the government should initiate various procedures to amend and improve the respective normative acts.

A second essential idea referred to the creation of expert subcommissions within the aforementioned joint commission in order to concretely examine the situation prevailing in certain branches directly affected by the program of structural adjustments—more precisely in the branches scheduled to limit their activity to a certain extent in the future, due to lack of energy, financial, or

material resources—and in sectors considered to be less efficient, for reasons pertaining to their internal structure or for market reasons.

Finally, a third category of problems referred to the need for the government to examine the situation existing within its own structures—that is within the governmental apparatus—and to assess the extent to which the government members, that is some government members and certain responsible cadres within the governmental structures, adopted an inappropriate attitude with regard to the implementation of reform or the dialogue with the trade unions, which somehow led to social tensions. Pending the conclusions that will be reached, the government should proceed accordingly.

[Rucareanu] Mr. Minister, I would like to ask you another question. We all know that a drivers' strike is taking place in Bucharest today. Has anything been decided in this connection?

[Severin] The discussions were also of a local nature and obviously dealt with some particular issues. In principle, we believe that, in the light of the conclusions reached—and my impression is that the trade union representatives, including those representing the Drivers' Trade Union, interpreted our discussions and conclusions in the same way—there is no justification for the continuation of the strikes for the duration of talks until a conclusion is reached. I would like to add that, in the context of the presentation of certain specific problems, the trade unions also raised certain topics regarding public supplies, particularly the duration of the winter holidays. In this respect, it is obvious that we are—the government is—strongly determined to make all necessary efforts and go the to the limit of what is possible to improve the supplies of the aforementioned commodities.

Presidential Press Release Issued

AU1212090090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2154 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The press office of the presidency has issued a release showing that a meeting took place at the Cotroceni Palace between Romania's Government represented by Prime Minister Petre Roman and State Ministers Ion Aurel Stoica and Adrian Severin, and the representatives of the following TU [tradu union] organizations: the Alfa Cartel, the Hercules Confederation, the National Council of Free Unions of Romania, the Inter-Union Alliance, the Convention of Free Non-Affiliated Unions, the Metal Confederation, the Fratia [Brotherhood] Confederation, the Union Confederation of Building Workers and the Drivers' Union of Romania.

The meeting proceeded in the presence of Romania's President Ion Iliescu who assumed the role of mediator at the request of several trade unions.

The dialogue pursued the seeking out of solutions to ease the tension, the analysis of some discontents of the unions regarding the dialogue conducted with the government, as well as the settlement of claims associated with the implementation of the economic reform and social protection.

They discussed the deficiencies of communication and collaboration within the government-unions joint commission, the necessity to correlate the program of economic reform and its pace with a fit program of social protection, the immobility and lack of responsiveness of factors of the government and state administration. Emphasis was placed on the difficulties encountered in the process of implementation of the economic reform, on the resistance put up, either out of incompetence or ill will, by structures or decision-makers at various levels. Problems were also discussed in connection with the shortage of supplies to the population, especially farm foodstuff, abuses of certain economic agents in setting prices with some products and the mounting corruption.

The representatives of the union confederations showed their discontent with the activity of some cabinet members and their attitude towards the unions, as well as with the apparatus of some ministries and departments.

In turn, the government representatives outlined the inevitable difficulties the country's economy had to cope with, the importance of the reform program and the impossibility to give up the steps of liberalization of the economy.

Pursuant to the discussions, Romania's president decided to remand to the Parliament the law of social protection of the unemployed and their professional reintegration so as to be debated in keeping with the amendments agreed upon by the government together with the trade unions.

They also agreed:

1. To present and analyze the proposals of the unions as to the amending of the bills referring to the settlement of the collective labour conflicts, the collective bargaining agreement, the unions and the pay, with the amendments covenanted having to be advanced to the Parliament.

2. The joint government-unions commission to discuss the main economic and social problems of every economic sector that might be affected by the program of restructuring and reducing the activity, with the participation of the representatives of the departments and branch union federations. The talks will start on December 12, 1990 with the analysis of the specific problems and claims of the drivers' union.

3. The government will analyze the activity of certain ministries and departments as regards the way how action was taken for the application of its economic policy and the unfolding of the consultations with the unions, taking the due steps.

4. The government will take every necessary step to ensure the improvement of the population's supply with consumer goods.

5. The union federations represented there demanded that the necessary steps be taken so that they be given broadcasting space on radio and TV.

The parties appreciated the positive and useful character of the dialogue conducted, reiterating their support to the process of reform and showing the necessity that it be furthered.

Iliescu Meets With Pro-FSN Students 11 Dec

AU1212090290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2232 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/12/19980—Representatives of the student organizations of the National Salvation Front [FSN] and its supporters in Bucharest higher learning institutes met on December 11 evening with President Ion Iliescu.

The participants in the meeting declared for the depolitization of the learning institutions and against the transformation of the student TU [tradu union] activity which takes on a visibly political turn. They disjoined themselves from the student strike proclaimed by the recent convention in Timisoara, also expressing worry about the continued pressure put up on them by extremist groups made of students that are partisans of the opposition forces.

The dialogue covered also current general aspects of the Romanian society the process of transition to the market economy, the stage of the economic reform and their impact on the life of students and future graduates.

Press Organs React to Trade Union Claim

AU1112182490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—"TINERETUL LIBER": "Now, when we are consolidating our democratic life, we can notice at the end of this year when we commemorate the December 1989 Romanian revolution, a recurrence of claiming and protest actions which deliberately ignore the ways provided by the system of democratic institutions. Street pressure, violence, anarchic behaviour bringing in the focus problems of minority groups, without any consideration for the interests of society as a whole, "direct actions" seem to take on such a momentum as to suggest a conjugation of forces to contest the present configuration of power.... Faced with such proofs of violation of law, and of the democratic framework—the daily underlines—we find it natural to wonder if the factors responsible for public order" should not show more firmness.

"ADEVARUL," speaking of the present state of tension in Romanian society, considers that, under the circumstances, "the appeals through an inciting propaganda will have the following effects: extremists will more clearly delimit themselves; the police will make up for their failure last summer; more acts of impiety to the heroes' memory may occur; further names will pass from psychiatric records to the lists of democratic organizations without frontiers; the nation's number one psychological disease: the obsession for power above the obsession for work and rectitude will be prolonged for some time."

"REALITATEA ROMANEASCA," at the question "Why is the country boiling" it answers "People have clearly lost their confidence and their strained patience can no longer be the stake of an authoritative government. Since, whereas at a time of euphoria and even confusion, promises were made and facilities more or less of an electoral nature were granted, the settlement day can no longer be extended.(...) with all due respect for the government team, we must however note that the deadlock reached in the dialogue with the trade unions is their work, to a considerable extent owing to the inflexible stand they adopted."

"DIMINEATA":(...) "The ultimatum-like tone the drivers use in their statements and press releases shows political effects rather than economic claims are pursued. Let us stop pretending we do not understand. Those who are striving to destabilize the country, not caring about the historic destiny of the Romanian people threatened from all parts want to take full advantage of what is called diversion. Our people, we are convinced, will know how to defend its liberty, democracy and national being. Notwithstanding, the government must also show moderation and find legal ways to settle disputes."

"ROMANIA LIBERA":(...) The Drivers' Union of Romania went on strike Monday. Will their example be followed by the other trade union federations? We hope that at least now, at the last moment, power representatives will have due lucidity to avoid such an extreme measure."

Appeals Issued Against Labor Action

AU1212092290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0809 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—In an appeal addressed to the two chambers of Romania's Parliament the Bihor County Prefecture proposes the high legislative forum to discuss the elaboration of a motion to ban the organisation of any kind of events or marches as well as of strikes during the winter holidays, that is from December 23 until January 7, 1991. We make this proposal, the appeal reads, so that the Romanian nation ridded of political passions and ambitions can celebrate the holidays the December revolution has restored us.

The National Council of the Medical Free Trade Unions Federation (Hippocrates) of Romania, gathered in plenary meeting on December 11, in consideration of the favourable course of its negotiations with the government as well as the major interests of the population considers the start of a general strike as ill-timed, reads a communique of this organism.

FSN First Vice Chairman on Transition Process

AU1112151190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1423 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—In an interview with the newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER", Mr. N.S. Dumitru, first vice-chairman of the National Salvation Front [FSN], opines that the transition process—the assimilation of market economy mechanisms—is the most important historical experiment in the world at the end of the 20th century, with deep-going implications for both the East and the West. Therefore, he said, it should be approached explicitly, as a state, and not only as an economic reform for countries which are handicapped in point of efficiency and prosperity.

Mr. Dumitru calls attention to the fact that this is a real and major problem considering the fact that Western investors envisage its resolution in the terms of competitions and market economy exclusively, ensuring advantages to the side that is technologically, financially and managerially better equipped. Translated into fact, this means that the east, in exchange for assistance to assimilate Western experience in the market economy, shall bear part of the costs of the West's transition to a post-industrial (robotized) society, he also shows.

Further explaining that process, Mr. N.S. Dumitru says: the West's transition to the post-industrial phase with a small physical volume and a large information load, will result in the stepped-up transfer of extensive industrial branches (requiring large consumption of labor, raw material and a minimal information load) towards the "second" world (to which Eastern Europe belongs). This is the cost Eastern countries will have to bear, Mr. Dumitru states.

PNL Youth Wing Holds Convention 8-9 Dec

AU1012193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The convention of the Young Wing of the National Liberal Party [PNL] was held on 8 and 9 December 1990 grouping together representatives from 33 counties and 12 local branches.

The party's statutes, the political platform and the liberal economic alternative were debated and approved.

After analysing the economic and social situation of Romania, the causes of its aggravation, the convention adopted a political declaration forwarding proposals to the Parliament to take urgent measures for: establishing and publishing the whole truth about the political and social events that took place in Romania starting December 16, 1989, irrespective of the people and political groupings involved in promoting and holding them; incrimination of the communist system and of those responsible for the country's current economic and moral disaster; abrogation of the legal provisions allowing the Army to be used for solving social-political conflicts under the pretext of protecting social stability; reshuffling of Romania's Government to ensure a coherent and efficient process of economic reform; debating the privatization bill, that could be an essential lever of the economic reform; fixing, as soon as possible, the date of local elections.

The political declaration of the convention ends by asking Romania's president "to assume before the nation the responsibilities springing from his political actions along the past twelve months."

Vatra Leader Denies Accusations of Chauvinism

AU1212134790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1305 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/12/1990—"Political pluralism, which we have all been witnessing for almost one year is a very good, a positive fact," Professor Ion Coja, first vice president of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union underlined in a statement made Tuesday on the Romanian Television. However, in professor Coja's opinion, that implies, "a great danger, a serious danger namely that political parties, as many or as few as they may be, while engaged in the struggle for power, and trying therefore to delimit themselves from one another, to work out their own distinct political programmes, may overlook the greater interest national interest."

The "Vatra Romaneasca" Union is closely attached to the concept of national interest, Mr. Coja said, characterizing the accusation that it might be subordinated to one or another political party as "thoroughly inaccurate." Vatra Romaneasca, through its very spirit, he stressed, "will always be on the side of the winning party of an election, not to support, applaud and approve of its every action, but to help it understand and never let it forget that above its own political programme there is a national interest transcending any circumstances of the moment."

We are accused, without any justification, of nationalism, of chauvinism, professor Ion Coja further said. We are nationalists, he added, to the extent nationalism is required of every small country, of every small nation to defend its identity, but we are not chauvinists and I feel it is my duty to make known the position adopted by "Vatra Romaneasca" Union at its last conference in Timisoara.

The press has lately mentioned more than once the situation of the Romanians living in Hungary and suggested that the Hungarians of Romania should be given the same rights the Romanians in Hungary have. "It would be a shame for our country, for all of us, Romanians, to give the Hungarians of Romania only such rights as Romanians living in Hungary have," Mr. Coja said. We intend to grant Hungarians and any other minorities in Romania the rights they are entitled to in a civilized state."

According to Mr. Coja's opinion, the national idea is forgotten by many political parties, it is absent from many activities undertaken by various associations and groups of persons, and that unfortunately, includes the Romanian Television's programmes. That became apparent as early as December 1989, Mr. Coja reminded, and it is for that reason that "Vatra Romaneasca" Union has asked, since its first meeting with President Ion Iliescu, for a special time allocation in TV programmes. While reiterating that request, Professor Ion Coja elicited the TV viewers' opinion regarding the opportuneness of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union being granted two hours' broadcast weekly.

Senate Not To Address Issues Without Commissions

AU1012205590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1956 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—The Senate's plenary session on December 10 has been shortest so far as it lasted only one hour. The chief reason for that was explained by Senate's President Alexandru Barladeanu in the great number of bills (17 in all) which could not be approached in plenum without the consent of the specialty commissions. Consequently, he requested the chairmen of the commissions and their members to show high operativeness. Mr. Barladeanu also announced that, maybe tomorrow or the following days, the two chambers of the Parliament would gather in a joint meeting to launch a proclamation and call to the whole country in connection with the days to come that caused certain anxiety among citizens.

The president of the Senate consulted the senators on the holding of a meeting of Romania's Parliament, perhaps on December 21, to commemorate last December's events.

Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu informed that the standing bureaux of the two chambers had examined the report of the commission working out the draft constitution of Romania, which reached the final stage and is to be soon discussed in the Parliament, underscoring that it will be given to the press for a larger debate.

The Senate's president expressed satisfaction at the government's decision to postpone the liberalization of prices for bear necessities for the middle of next year. In the context, Mr. Barladeanu underlined the fact that the procrastination of the liberalization of prices for the strictly necessary products owed particularly to Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

Tirgoviste Mayor Calls For National Conciliation

AU1112152690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The Mayor's Office of Tirgoviste Municipality sent to the national news agency "ROMPRES" an appeal to all political segments and forces in this country for unity, political and moral balance, national conciliation on the eve of the anniversary of one year since the December 1989 revolution. Let us prove to ourselves and to the world as a whole that our forefathers' virtues, which have allowed us to put a most amazing resistance in the face of all vicissitudes and have marked our history, can flourish even more in freedom and democracy. Let us not compromise our people's future through partisan, vain ambitions. We are not solidary with the destabilizing, antidemocratic and irresponsible actions whereby a minor part of society tries to impose a point of view which is alien from the country's interests, the document reads. [sentence as received]

Foreign Minister Nastase on Human Rights Institute

AU1112130090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1201 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—Referring to the setting up of the Romanian Institute for Human Rights, Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase said in an interview with "AZI" daily that "it should be put under the protection of Parliament, to avoid possible political manipulations".

The institute will edit a bulletin dwelling on topical questions related to human rights and their observance in both Romania and other states, as well as on the latest researches in the field. The bulletin will be a source of information and documentation for parliamentarians, cabinet members, non-governmental organizations as well as citizens as regards international and national regulations in human rights publishing also studies of comparative law.

Human Rights Commission Official Airs Views

AU1112125290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1025 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—In Bucharest I have found a wide and open process of democratic changes as a result of the historic event of December 1989. I think that process should be encouraged but also supported, Mrs. Anna Maria Stame Cervone, vice president of the Human Rights Commission of the Christian Democrat International, said in an interview with daily "ADEVARUL".

Showing that "unlike other East European countries which have embarked on the road to democratic changes, Romania has taken them at a more dynamic pace", she added: "Romanians are still faced with a number of difficulties inherent for a period of transition toward democracy and a market economy, but show themselves ready and eager to join unreservedly the European community, to assert themselves, according to their vocation and capacities, in the world arena. I am persuaded that the debates of the Bucharest Conference, organized by the League for the Defense of Human Rights of Romania, which I attended will contribute to building up the European community as a whole. I

myself am pleading for support to Romania, all the more so as this country has committed itself irreversibly to becoming a state of law, free and democratic. Now is the time for such support to be given. Not helping Romania today is a real crime. Let us give Romanians a chance. I believe Romania's openness to the world is an obvious fact."

In her opinion, "a priority as far as Romania is concerned, is to give it massive support without which the present change rate couldn't be sustained.

ROMANIA LIBERA Accused of Disinformation

AU1012202190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 5 Dec 90 p 5

[Editorial note: "Even the Romanian Information Service Is Surprised"]

[Text] ROMPRES has published a communique on behalf of the Press Bureau of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] the full text of which we will now publicize to present to our readers the opinions of that institution.

ROMANIA LIBERA No. 14320 (new series No. 286) of 30 November 1990 published—under the title of "Unbelievable"—a brief and completely ungrounded commentary which tendentiously—and for reasons which we do not want to name for the time being—makes untrue affirmations in connection with SRI.

In connection with that commentary and the order reproduced, SRI announces the following:

1. The relations between SRI and all the other organizations of the executive power, including the Army, being in conformity with the principles of the state of law, exclude any interference in the competence area of other institutions.

2. We believe that spreading unverified information harming the authority and credibility of some state institutions—no matter which ones—is, besides proof of a lack of professional probity and compulsory journalistic respect, at least an act of ill faith.

3. SRI asks the Steering Council of ROMANIA LIBERA to establish the verity of the aforementioned commentary and to publicize all elements on which it is grounded.

4. In connection with the seriousness of the affirmations in conformity with which certain unconstitutional measures were imposed on the Army, we believe that the Ministry of National Defense will make known its views.

5. Intentionally confusing and ambiguous, this commentary is a classical example of the kind of disinformation freely practiced by the "sections for special operation" (read "dirty") of certain well-known espionage services, a fact which arouses surprise and confusion about the link that may exist between them and an "independent" paper.

Government Spokesman Comments on Economic Reform

AU1212085890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2158 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—At his weekly press conference, government spokesman and Secretary of State Bogdan Baltazar brought some clarifications as to how the economic reform is being implemented. Mr. Baltazar summed up the conclusions deriving from the talks the Romanian Government has had to this effect with the IMF and IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] delegations, specifying that the two organisations "agree to the quick pace" of the reform as a whole and to privatisation as proposed by the government, but "do not sustain the solutions advanced of late." These bodies have made a number of suggestions and recommendations, among which "the control on credits and consumption rates" and a "step by step privatisation as proposed by the government, but "do not sustain the solutions advanced of late."

He also stated that the IMF and the IBRD would credit no industrial projects, except for those involving consumer goods. The IBRD will issue credits for re-equipment of industrial units, modernization of infrastructures and landed property. Although bank credits amount to 700 million dollars, Romania has opened a credit line for only 35 million dollars. On the strength of the agreements reached, Romania is to benefit from the support of French, Italian and German companies.

As for the government's near future targets Mr. Baltazar stressed the importance of "re-equilibrating the country's balance of payments," showing that, following the discussions held and the understandings reached with IMF and the "Group of 24" representatives, "the requirements for public catering over the winter and spring-summer period will be met."

The spokesman also stated that the government's decision to defer the second stage of price liberalisation from January 1 to June 1 1991 "does not reflect a slow-down of reform pace." "It is the effect of the unsatisfactory way in which prices were negotiated during the first stage."

In reply to questions from the press, the government spokesman emphasised that he "considered it very unlikely that the government should be dismissed," as long as it was a legal government—widely supported—the off-spring of the May 20 free elections and perfectly capable to carry out the task it was entrusted with by its voters.

Relative to the government's talks with the trade unions lately, Mr. Baltazar underlined the constructive character of these interviews and the executive's interest in maintaining a permanent dialogue with the trade unions.

Defense Ministry Rejects Army Life Interference

AU1112134190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1254 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The National Defense Ministry published a statement whereby, noting that the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" has insistently dwelt of late on the Army's life and activity by giving it large space through materials written by professionally unauthorized persons or having obviously biased political attitudes aiming at annihilating the good and stable relations between the Army and the other major state institutes, including the Ministry of the Interior and the Intelligence Service, at cultivating artificial aversion between military institutes and political power, the Parliament, the government and the president, rejects any attempt of malevolent, destabilizing immixture in its activity and most categorically recommends the editorial staff of "ROMANIA LIBERA" to refrain from the irresponsible attacks against the military body.

Television TU Leader Issues Open Letter

AU1212103290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Open Letter from Dumitru Iuga, President of the Trade Union of the Romanian Television"]

[Text] In connection with Mr. Cornel Pumnea's intervention during the "Current Events" television news program on Wednesday, 5 December, I would like to state that it was his personal action dictated by his own conscience. I congratulate him and I express sympathy for this performance—a performance which showed that we are finally living in freedom, directness, and dignity. I have been informed that somewhere, at higher levels of the Romanian Television, his case is being discussed and there is talk about terminating his work contract. I hope that all these are simple rumors and that no one dares touch this person. I would also like to tell our listeners that, after his intervention, upon leaving the studio, Mister Pumnea was cheered by his colleagues who represent the technical staff and by others, too, while Mister Rosianu, who tried to criticize his attitude was booed. Simply—booed.

As far as my state is concerned—I still feel well and maybe I will undergo my first glicemy [as received] analysis today.

Neither the administrative management nor our country's Parliament, to whom this open letter was addressed made any attempt to contact our trade union.

State Secretary Holds Economic Talks in Denmark

AU1112125490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1029 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—Monday 10 December, Romanian-Danish consultations were held in Copenhagen between the two foreign affairs ministries. The Romanian delegation was led by Romulus Neagu, secretary of state, member of government, and the Danish delegation by Otto Moeller, permanent secretary of state. The collocuitors appreciated the broad prospects opened to the cooperation between the two countries by the transformations occurring in Romania in the wake of the December 1989 revolution. The question was resumed of the Danish foreign minister's visit to Bucharest postponed because of the calling of early elections in Denmark. The possibility was examined of organizing an official meeting between the two prime ministers.

Special attention was paid to economic exchanges and cooperation in the perspective of the session of the joint Romanian-Danish Governmental Commission with stress on the possibility of Danish investments in Romania more particularly in agriculture: animal-breeding farms (the Danish side would contribute with thoroughbred animals, veterinary and milking equipment, concentrated fodder, medicines, seeds etc.) slaughterhouses, dairies and meat preparations factories, and others.

The possibility was also examined that Romania more efficiently benefit from international and Danish programmes pursuing the assistance of the processes of building states of law and market economies in the Central and Eastern Europe.

Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit to Greece

Nastase Arrives 9 Dec; Meets Officials

AU1012113790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1028 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Athens, ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romanian foreign minister, arrived on Sunday [9 December] in Greece for an official three-day visit, on an invitation of the Greek foreign minister, Mr. Antonis Samaras.

The members of the Romanian delegation are Mr. Sotiris Fotocolos, chairman of the Hellenic Union of Romania, Deputies Anton Nicolau (from the Hellenic Union) and Catalin Radulescu (from the National Salvation Front).

The programme of the visit includes inter alia calls at the Trade Ministry, at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as a call on the Greek prime minister, Mr. Constantin Mitsotakis.

Confers With Greek Businessmen

AU1112125890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1211 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Athens, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—On Monday, December 10, Romania's Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase met successively with the president of the Hellenic Parliament, Athanasios Tsaldaris, and with

the Minister of Culture, deputy prime minister of Greece, Tzannis Tzannetakis.

During the interviews stress was laid on the special role incumbent on parliamentarians, men of letters and scientists in developing the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

The necessity was reiterated to intensify the exchange of delegations, the cultural collaboration as well as to encourage the direct contacts between institutions and men of letters and scientists in Romania and Greece. Late in the evening the Romanian delegation also met with representatives of the Greek businessmen.

Meets Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis

AU1112211290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1945 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Athens ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase was received on December 11 at noon by Konstandinos Mitsotakis, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic.

The Romanian foreign minister expressed on that occasion as well Romania's gratitude for the solidarity shown by the Greek people, by the leaders of the Hellenic Republic with the Romanian revolution, for the material and moral aid given. He then made a cursory survey of the situation in Romania, of the new orientations and major reforms and structural changes promoted by the government in the political, economic, social and cultural domains.

In that context, he emphasized Romania's wish to have close relations with Greece, with the other European Community countries and applied for further support from the Hellenic Government in attaining those targets.

Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis stated that the Greek people and Government regarded with sympathy the efforts of the Romanian people toward the building of a democratic society and expressed his and his government's readiness to expand the bilateral relations of political, economic, social, cultural cooperation and collaboration, to facilitate and encourage the assistance and investments of Hellenic businessmen in Romania.

Reportage on Nastase's Visit

WA1112194590

For Greek reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase to Athens, including reports on his talks with Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, please see the Greece section of the 12 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Parliamentary Delegation Pays Visit to Switzerland

AU1012132990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1107 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/12/1990—A Romanian parliamentary delegation, made up of representatives of the Ecological Movement of Romania, Professor Marcian Bleahu, the National Peasant Christian, Democratic Party, Professor Gabriel Tepelea, the National Liberal Party, Radu Campeanu, and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, Marko Bela, paid a fact-finding visit to Switzerland at the invitation of the European Union of that country initiated by Giscard d'Estaing.

A wide gamut of questions was approached during the visit starting with information about the economic and political dificulties in Romania, the question of ethnic minorities, domains benefiting only from unilateral and distorted information, about the attitude vis-a-vis the opposition at the recent festivities in Alba Iulia, the 13-15 June events and ending with the question: "What can Switzerland do to help Romania?".

The members of the delegation assess that Swizterland has been constantly interested in Romania, although this interest is no as high as it used to be in December and January, and the points made by the opposition will undoubtedly be useful to clarify a number of questions, stressed Professor Tepelea in a statement to a ROMPRES editor.

First Periodical About Bessarabia Published

AU1112134090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1303 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/12/1990—The first issue has come out of "FLACARA BASARABIEI" [Bessarabia's Flame], "the first periodical in Romania about Bessarabia", edited by a team of reporters belonging to the "FLACARA" publications editor's office. The pages we are offering you, the foreword of that new periodical shows, try to accomplish a rapprochement, a better definition of ourselves, because a mocking history has kept us aside and what it is more serious has not given us the right to really know our thoughts, our deeds, who we were and who we are.

Here are some of the items in that first issue: an interview of Mircea Druc, prime minister of the Moldovan Republic, "The Students in Kishinev Have Stopped the Tanks at the Parade", "Bessarabia Crucified a Second Time", and others.

Results of Serbian Elections Reported, Reviewed

Late Results Show Milosevic Lead

AU1112155490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Nebojsa Spajic report from Serbian Electoral Commission headquarters at the Serbian Assembly building in Belgrade—live]

[Text] According to the latest results that we exclusively received from the republican Statistical Institute team, results of presidential elections have been processed for 108 constituencies. Slobodan Milosevic is leading with 62.55 percent of votes.

As for the results of parliamentary elections, they are known for 96 constituencies. Of that number, 23 candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia and three candidates of the opposition have won parliament seats, while in 70 constituencies everything will be decided in the second round.

News Conference Reviews Results

LD1112123590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—According to the republican Electoral Commission's latest reports from 59 constituencies, Slobodan Milosevic, the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] candidate for republican president, has won 702,354 votes or 62.12 percent; Vuk Draskovic, the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] candidate, has won 192,937 votes or 17.6 percent. Presidential candidate Ivan Djuric has won 99,471 or 8.8 percent of the total vote. All the other presidential candidates in these constituencies have received less than two percent of the vote.

At a press conference today in the Serbian Assembly it was announced that in the eight constituencies in Kosovo whose reports had already been compiled Milosevic won 85 percent, Vuk Draskovic 6.25, and Vojislav Seselj 2.11 percent of the votes. All the other presidential candidates had less than one percent of the vote in Kosovo. Only in the constituency of Lipljan was Ivan Djuric given the largest vote. In all the other constituencies the list is as follows: first Milosevic and then Vuk Draskovic.

In the 55 constituencies whose reports have been compiled, 14 deputies to the National Assembly have been elected. The SPS has won 13 seats and 41 of its candidates will contest the second round of elections. The SPO has won no seats but it will contest the second round with 16 candidates. The Democratic Party has no seats either, but seven of its candidates will contest the second round. The Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians has won one seat and is contesting the second round with four candidates. The second round will also be contested by three candidates for deputies who were put forward by groups of citizens.

In most of the constituencies in Kosovo the elections for the people's deputies will have to be repeated in the second round because the requirement that over half the eligible electorate should vote was not been met.

Socialists Win 100 of 250 Seats

LD1112190890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Excerpt] According to official results announced by the republic's Electoral Commission, after the first round of voting Slobodan Milosevic has a convincing lead of 45 percent, while his Socialist Party of Serbia has secured about 100 of the 250 Assembly seats. Here is a report by Ivana Sutlic-Peric:

[Sutlic-Peric] According to the latest results, Slobodan Milosevic has received 42.68 percent of votes from 143 constituencies; Vuk Draskovic: 12.43 percent; and Iva Djuric: 5.33 percent. Although statistical figures indicate that in Kosovo Milosevic has received 80 percent of the votes cast, of more importance is the fact that this represents only 11.2 percent of the province's electorate. These figures are based on the results from 19 constituencies. It should however be mentioned that in 18 of these constituencies, voting will have to be repeated.

In Vojvodina, Milosevic has received 44.34 percent of all votes cast, and Ivan Djuric, the joint candidate for the Alliance of Reform Forces and UJDI [Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative], 13 percent.

In the elections for Assembly deputies, returns have so far been received from 143, or just over the half of constituencies out of the total of 250. Seats in the people's Assembly have already been won by 34 deputies of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and five by deputies of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians. The second round will be contested by 91 candidates of the SPS, 45 candidates of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, 14 candidates representing groups of citizens, 10 Democrats. It should be noted that the total number of opposition candidates for the second round now stands at 76. The opposition, or to be precise, the Alliance of Reform Forces, has said that according to available reports, it already has four deputies in Vojvodina and that seven more will contest the second round. [passage omitted]

Milosevic Addresses Citizens in Novi Sad 5 Dec

AU1112151290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report on speech by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Novi Sad on 5 December: "We Will Succeed in Reconstructing Serbia"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 5 Dec—At a magnificent meeting in Novi Sad, held under the slogan "For Peace, harmony, and better life in united Serbia and federal Yugoslavia," Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia, said the following:

It has given me the greatest pleasure to come to Novi Sad and Vojvodina which was among the first to set off the

chain of great changes in Serbia aimed at creating conditions for the political and economic reform of Serbia through the process of democratization and at regulating the status of our republic in the Yugoslav community, Slobodan Milosevic said. Apart from that, the citizens of Vojvodina have made a great, and I would dare to openly say, almost historic contribution to efforts to put a stop to the agony of the Serbian people in Kosovo and to end the tragedy that has been looming over the lonely minority of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins who were abandoned for several decades by everyone.

I am, therefore, convinced that now too, when Serbia is again finding it difficult because it has been exposed to political conflicts for months, the citizens of Vojvodina will for their part help these conflicts to end democratically at the elections, but that they will come out of them in the right way, on the road to the peace, prosperity, and equality that citizens and peoples deserve and which is also the only way to survive.

We Should Turn Toward Peace, Work, and Harmony

Regardless of whether it bothers anyone, I will again say that the policy of peace, independence, and economic prosperity and equality among people and nations is not the best but the only one that a reasonable person can choose. This is particularly true if one bears in mind the conditions under which we are now living: crazy interethnic hatred which is threatening to lead us into civil war, pretensions outside Yugoslavia toward its sovereignty, and a galloping economic crisis which threatens to make us the greatest European paupers. Therefore, it is the duty of every citizen to oppose such a course of events and therefore if anyone reproaches us for wanting to live, work, and bring up our children in peace, then these reproaches show that we have work to do, not only with people who are not well-intentioned and the enemies of Serbia but with people's enemies in general with sinister thoughts and base morals. We really no longer have either the time or reason to once again perish, to postpone into infinity our peaceful and balanced development until we have reached agreement with everyone and particularly among ourselves. We do not have either the time or reason to only analyze our errors for the umpteenth time, look for culprits, pass judgments, and waste time, intelligence, and room in newspapers in settling accounts with people who exited the political stage a long time ago, with the time which has gone, and with ideas that have never even been realized.

Futile settling of accounts will deprive us of valuable time. Intelligent people will find themselves doing pointless work and we will make young people not only unemployed but confused if we do not renounce our obedience to the primitive, destructive, and malicious spirit within us.

Vojvodina Serves As An Example of How To Live Together

Comrades, with these words I am addressing the citizens of Novi Sad and the citizens of Vojvodina, convinced that they more than perhaps anyone else in Yugoslavia know that together they can work successfully, and people of different nations and different cultures can live in harmony and at the same time aspire to become closer and increasingly similar by abandoning mutual differences.

By living together, the citizens of Vojvodina have so far offered an example to Serbia and to Yugoslavia that equality, harmony, good will, and general solidarity among people are not, even under today's conditions, the empty and Utopian slogans of unreasonable politicians but that they are possible, and in future this will determine the only realistic relations among people if they want to live successfully and humanely.

I am stressing this here because it is in fact here in Vojvodina that ideas have been promoted recently of a false Yugoslavism. These are false ideas because they are meant to frighten other peoples, and especially members of nationalities, away from Serbia and the Serbian people. They are meant to create an illusion of how the old formula of Yugoslavia with Serbia on its knees can be "reformulated" and reapplied. They are based on the experience that a lack of unity in Serbia is the universal key for unlocking all policies against Serbia.

Such a policy against the Serbian people cannot either in the short or long run benefit Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Ruthenians or any other people who live together with Serbs on an equal footing in the same state. Neither Serbia nor the Serbian people who live not only in Serbia but throughout Yugoslavia promote or will promote their interests to the detriment of other peoples and other people. It is not against the interests of Yugoslavia for the Serbian people to live together in one state and to be united. On the contrary, I think that successful conabitation in our country is possible and that it would not be to the detriment of anyone, but that it would serve common interests. It is easy to create divisions, but difficult to eliminate the consequences which stem from them. Divisions can be created within several weeks, but their removal can last for decades. Here in Vojvodina, common life has been built for a long time. Many lives have been lost for freedom, equality, and brotherhood. Many past generations believed in the idea of equality and brotherhood, as do their children today. Progressive people throughout the world, who are uniting before our very eyes, also believe in this idea. Therefore, we will not allow hatred, violence, and war among peoples and people to reign in our country.

Progressive Forces Are Gaining In Strength Again

Therefore, we should combine our efforts and wishes to jointly find a way out of this dark and long tunnel and come out into daylight in which we will find worries and successes, factories, fields, schools, kindergartens, so that we live as civilized people and free citizens. Let us do

that so that workers could have a reason to look forward to successes in factories, peasants in the fields, pupils in schools, so that politics moves into assemblies, and people rest, so that parents have enough time for their children and children enough time to play. These days are possible, they are ahead us. I am convinced about this and know that citizens throughout Serbia share this hope with me. I greet you all in Vojvodina convinced not only that we share a hope about better days for all of us, but that we will also realize these hopes together. We are strengthened in this belief by the fact that recently we have seen that forces of peace, that Yugoslav, progressive forces are again gaining in strength everywhere in our country. The numerous joint and individual and open and hidden enemies of peace, Yugoslavia, socialism, and I can also say the independence of our country, are roaming throughout the country threatening and throwing people into despair. Therefore, people are justifiable concerned that they will be deprived of freedom, that their country will become dependent on others, that they will end up in a war, helplessness, and poverty. Therefore, not only that strengthening of forces which favor peace and a safe and just life of Yugoslav citizens should encourage people, but should also induce and mobilize them, in the interest of their future and the future of their country, to rally and unite these forces of peace and freedom for all people.

We have been successful in everything we started in the last three years. This is a fact that noone can deny. Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that we will not succeed in the big task which we all have started on the economic and social reconstruction of Serbia. A reunited Serbia and the citizens of Serbia who are together in one republic should always be with those who are favor of peace, freedom, independence, justice in Serbia and Yugoslavia. These forces will be victorious in Serbia as well as in Yugoslavia. The future is on the side of these forces. Because of this future we should stand united and confident in ourselves and our victory. Long live comrades! Long live Serbia! Long live Yugoslavia!

Yutel Transmissions Prevented in Serbia

LD0712212690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Bodies of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SUP] and the Vojvodina SUP once more prevented transmission of Yutel programs on Serbian territory. Workers of the Serbian SUP have once again disconnected the aggregate contained in a special transmission vehicle stationed on Mt. Avala, and taken it away. Thus, they prevented Yutel programs from being relayed via that transmitter.

They also specified that last night around 2100, a strong force of the Vojvodina SUP prevented engineers and technicians from relaying Yutel programs from Mt. Fruska Gora by beaming light on a vehicle containing transmission equipment.

We apologize to viewers in Serbia who could not receive Yutel programs last night, a Yutel apology states, and notes further that such conduct by the Serbian authorities, which are not enforcing federal laws, is in contradiction with public declarations for the rule of law.

Slovene Ministers Deem Situation 'Dangerous'

PM1212095290 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 9-10 Dec 90 p 12

[Dusan Pilic report: "Yugoslavia's Future Hangs on Serbian Elections"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—[passage omitted] Signs of tension and alarm for Yugoslavia's future are coming from Ljubljana. Slovenia fears an intervention by the Yugoslav Armed Forces to block the referendum on independence announced Friday. This was said yesterday by Defense Minister Janez Jansa and Interior Minister Igor Bavcar, who described the situation as "extremely dangerous." the Ljubljana government fears that next week in Slovenia there could be an outbreak of incidents provoked by the military to justify their intervention. Jansa said that information to this effect had reached his ministry but gave no details about sources or the kind of incident expected. Slovenian troops are on the alert and guarding the country's main institutions: They have orders not to shoot first, but to shoot in response to any attempt to intervene on the part of the federal army.

According to the minister—who was contradicted by the military authorities—several contingents of the Yugoslav Armed Forces have been authorized by their commands to "use firearms and gas." For his part, Ljubljana's interior minister cited an alleged "secret" document of the Yugoslav General Staff that has apparently been sent to all troop commands, warning personnel that "all right-wing forces, backed by the Army, have stepped up their activities to restore capitalism and to disintegrate Yugoslavia." Jansa, however, forecast "the beginning of the end of the Yugoslav Armed Forces' presence in Slovenia" if such plans were to be carried out. He said that they are maneuvers designed to resolve the Yugoslav crisis without taking account of the results of the spring elections that relegated the communists to the opposition.

Last, the Slovenian defense minister spoke about the presence of six U.S. Navy ships in the Adriatic and made it understood that he interpreted this presence as reflecting the possibility of a U.S. intervention if the Yugoslav situation were to deteriorate rapidly. According to the Slovene government minister, "U.S. ships have entered the Adriatic, and in our neighboring country a considerable concentration of troops is going on along our borders." According to Bavcar, there is a direct link between these military activities "in the Adriatic and along our borders" and the "increased military presence of contingents of the Yugoslav Armed Forces in Slovenia." Ljubljana is convinced—though unable to prove it with valid arguments—that there is a

direct relationship between the holding of the elections in Serbia and Montenegro and the increasing tensions in Slovenia.

5th District Protests 'Attacks' on Army Unity

LD0812230490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Text] Zagreb 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The commanding body of the Fifth Military District—its staff, as well as the Yugoslav People's Army as a whole—want to make it clear that the Army does not oppose the initiated social, political, and economic changes, provided they are carried out within the framework of the system's institutions in a peaceable and democratic manner. This was said in the commanding body's statement; it assessed that the campaign and attack waged against the moral integrity and constitutional function of the Yugoslav People's Army continues with unabated intensity.

This is also borne out by yesterday's news conference with the ministers in the government of the Republic of Slovenia for national defense, Janez Jansa, and for internal affairs, Igor Bavcar. The aforementioned gentlemen are not alone in this, as what is in daily evidence before the public obviously refers to the coordinated and synchronized activities of the official organs of authority in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia, as well as to the statements of influential personalities in political and public life and the heads of some political parties.

The apparent aim of all these attacks is an attempt to separate members of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army from the top Army leadership and destroy the Army from within. Even an ad hoc analysis of yesterday's statement by Jansa would suffice to uphold this claim.

Furthermore, this statement is a direct and fully explicit attack on the unity of members of the commanding bodies, units, and institutions of the Fifth Military District or—even more precisely—on the unity of Army collectives and a call for disobedience.

As Minister Jansa is directly attacking members of the Fifth Military District and its soldiers and officers of Slovene nationality, we informed Mr. Minister that his statement only strengthens the ranks of its Army staff and Slovenes—so he should not get carried away by his allusions.

We want to make it clear to the two ministers of the Slovene government, as well as to others, that the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and the SFRY have been through even more difficult situations, when its integrity and security were threatened to an even higher degree—but there were no developments among its ranks of the sort Jansa fancies. The Army, and the commanding body of the Fifth Military District and the other commanding bodies, units, and garrisons in the zone of responsibility, are receiving numerous expressions of support and letters, in which numerous citizens express their demands that the Army persevere in the stances it has aired to the public on millions of occasions. Inciting national intolerance, as Jansa did yesterday regarding Slovenes, and as the participants in the "Spektar" program by Croatian television did on 6 December regarding Croats, deeply insults members of these nationalities, particularly the ranks of active officers in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army. Once again, they are protesting against such insinuations and attempts to separate them in any way from the Army as a whole, the statement of the Fifth Military district says.

Slovene Officials Respond

LD0912144290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0907 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—"We again express our firm belief that Yugoslav People's Army members, regardless of their national affiliations or political convictions, will be able to differentiate between their constitutionally defined function to defend the country's territorial integrity on the one hand and the adventurous attempts and sick ambitions of individuals to gain and preserve power by force on the other."

This is being stressed in a reply to the Fifth Army district command by Slovenia's secretariats for national defense and internal affairs. It is noted in the reply that, apart from the usual generalities, the response of the Fifth Army district command to statements from Janez Jansa, the republic's national defense secretary, and Igor Bavcar, the internal affairs secretary, did not include any explanation of the claims voiced by the two secretaries at a recent press conference.

Slovenia To Revise Draft Law on Defense

LD1112225890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2158 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—The authorities in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia will have to offer a new text of the draft law on defense, following the complaints by deputies of the republican parliament that it was giving too much power to the republican military organs.

The draft law has been criticized in all three chambers of the Slovene parliament, In the Chamber of Associated Labor on Tuesday [11 November], and several days ago in the Social-Political Chamber and the Chamber of Municipalities.

The law's chief intention, running contrary to the federal Constitution, was to transfer the competences in the area of defense and security from the federal to the republican organs. A deputy, Col. Milan Aksentijevic, representative of the Army, described the draft law as a harsh, militarist law.

Deputy Roman Jaklic saw in the offered draft law text militancy and believes there was nothing in it about

de-militarization of Slovenia. He warned that the proposed law would enable republican Army members to conduct search of people on the street on the basis of suspicion only.

Drnovsek Tops List of Popular Slovene Politicians

AU1112173090

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 3 December on page 3 carries a report on the results of DELO-Stik's poll on the popularity of Slovene politicians, entitled "Slovene Political Barometer—December." The report does not contain any information about how the poll was carried out. The results of the poll list Slovene politicians in the following order of popularity:

1. Janez Drnovsek
2. Milan Kucan
3. Ciril Zlobec
4. Matjaz Kmecl
5. Joze Mencinger
6. Slavoj Zizek
7. Lojze Peterle
8. Jozef Skolc
9. Ivan Oman
10. Ciril Ribicic
11. Viktor Zakelj
12. Igor Bavcar
13. E. Milan Pintar
14. France Bucar
15. Dimitrij Rupel
16. Janez Jansa
17. Rajko Pirnat
18. Andrej Capuder
19. Joze Pucnik
20. Miha Ravnik

Montenegrin Multiparty Election Returns Noted

AU1112165090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Jagos Stojanovic report]

[Text] The republican Electoral Commission informed journalists today about approximate results of elections in 19 Montenegrin communes, all except Danilovgrad. Here is a report by Jagos Stojanovic:

[Stojanovic] Of 390,000 registered voters in Montenegro, 73.22 percent have cast their votes. Momir Bulatovic has received the largest number of votes for president of the republic—about 163,000. He is followed by Ljubisa Stankovic with 65,000 and Novak Kilibarda with 37,000 votes.

Out of 16 candidates for members of the Presidency, Svetozar Marovic and Milica Pejanovic are in the lead.

Out of 561 candidates from eight parties and two coalitions, (?seats) in the future republican multiparty parliament have been won by the League of Communists with 161,000 votes, the Reform Alliance with 42,000 votes, the People's Party with 37,000, and the Democratic Coalition with 30,000 votes.

The League of Communists has won a triumphant majority in Titograd, Niksic, Kolasin, Ivangrad, Zabljak, (?Savnik), and many more other communes. This is why its candidate, Momir Bulatovic, enjoys an a lead almost double that of the other two candidates, Ljubisa Stankovic and Novak Kilibarda.

However, according to all facts, Bulatovic will not have an absolute majority in the first round, so one can expect the republican Electoral Commission to decide that a second round of elections for the president of the republican Presidency should be held. The two candidates to run in the second round would be Momir Bulatovic and Ljubisa Stankovic.

As we have already reported, communists have lost the lead to Reformists and the Democratic Coalition only in four of 20 communes, Bar, Ulcinj, Plav, and Rozaje.

Presidential Elections To Go 2d Round

LD1112150990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Summary from poor reception] Titograd, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—The president of the Montenegrin Presidency will be elected in a second round of voting which is to be held on 23 December. Momir Bulatovic, presidential candidate of the Montenegrin League of Communists did not win a sufficient number of votes to ensure him an election victory in the first round of elections. According to present election results his contestant in the second round of voting will be Dr. Ljublisa Stankovic, presidential candidate of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Montenegro.

Unofficial Tally Reported

LD1112193290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Although the republican Electoral Commission is not ready to publicly confirm results of the Montenegrin elections, reliable unofficial results indicate that Montenegrin voters decided that their parliament should be composed of deputies of the League of Communists [LC] Alliance of Reform Forces, the People's Party and the Democratic Coalition of Albanian and Muslim parties. Remaining parties won less than four percent of the vote and will have to enter a coalition with one of these four parties. The LC won a landslide victory and is almost certain to have more than half of the seats in the Montenegrin Assembly. None of the presidential candidates managed to secure victory in the first round of voting. namely, according to the strict provisions of the electoral law, victory is secured if more than 50 percent of the votes of registered voters is won. Consequently, the second round of voting will be held on 23 December when Communist Momir Bulatovic and Reformist

Ljubisa "Stankovic will contest the position of Montenegrin president. The third candidate, the leader of People's Party Novak Kilibranda, fell out of the race because he won the least number of votes.

Of four positions in the Montenegrins Presidency, two were won by Communists: Svetozar Marovic and Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic, while the remaining two will be contested by independent candidate Dr. Slobodan Vujetic, Communists [passage omitted] and Reformists (?Savo Perovic) and Bozo Kovac.

This Sunday [16 December], elections should be held in those villages where election documentation was not delivered in time due to heavy snow, and in those places where they will be annulled. It is estimated that this will not have any considerable influence on the outcome of the elections.

Preelection Interview With Montenegro's Bulatovic

AU0712204890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, by Slavko Vukasinovic and Veselin Simonovic; place and date not given: "Honor and Honesty in a Red Frame"]

[Excerpts] The League of Communists [LC] is currently considered to be one of the top favorites to win the elections in Montenegro, while its president, Momir Bulatovic, stands the greatest chance of becoming the president of the Presidency of this republic. If it turns out that these predictions are correct, Montenegro will probably be the only Yugoslav state in which the communist party wins elections. As preelection rallies have shown, anti-communism was the least spread among the Montenegrin electorate. The famous January turnaround—which propelled the current Montenegrin LC leaders Momir Bulatovic and Milo Djukanovic to the forefront—is the main reason for blunting the sharpness of anti-communism and for the great popularity of the LC. These two and the party they head draw their political strength from the January events and they have been announcing a landslide victory.

[BORBA] At the end of the campaign you are saying that you will definitely win. What is your preelection optimism based on?

[Bulatovic] The preelection optimism is based on the following facts: First, we managed to complete an almost two-year process of organizational transformation and to produce a new realistic program, a program which will not be a program for all times, but an expression of the reality in which we live. We also believe that through our election program we have established responsible attitudes towards reality in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, which will continue to be the subject of our further political and I believe state work. Moreover, our lists include the most respected, the most able, and honest and moral people who guarantee that this program will be carried out. The third extremely important element is the fact as part of our political campaign we rallied over 120,000 people during our preelection activities. This number alone is sufficient for an optimistic view about the election results.

[BORBA] Judging by your promotions you very skillfully organized your campaign. Did you plan it yourself?

[Bulatovic] We consulted literature extensively and spoke to experts from leading advertising agencies in Western Europe and thus became aware that we ourselves should create our own political campaign. Of course, what we have learned was nowhere near enough to adapt the universal rules of political electioneering to our republic and its specific circumstances. The political campaign was basically created by the leadership of the League of Communists of Montenegro, but we had the right people to provide us with expert help.

[BORBA] One question is inevitable since there has been a number of criticisms, even accusations. Where did you get the money from?

[Bulatovic] Knowing that elections will be held and not wanting to be surprised by, to put it vividly, snow in December or rain in October, we set up an enterprise and managed to earn the necessary funds on the market. We engaged several young and bright people. In the present economic conditions, as we all know, trade and various specialist services produce results very quickly and pay off. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] You [LC] are accused of still holding power in you hands and, with the help of the police, "disrupting" the rallies of other parties.

[Bulatovic] The question about which party is in power in the period of transition from the one party to a multiparty system has caused confusion over which we in Montenegro have been arguing for almost a full year. We have even been accused of using the police force to prevent the promotion of some parties, even of tapping the telephones of our political rivals. Since we are talking about an area in which it is difficult to find real evidence, we can only counter this criticism with our claims—based on our sense of morality and political honesty—that we have never intended to used such methods. After all, why would we eavesdrop on any political party when their leaders provide us at their public appearance with so much material that we do not have any doubts concerning their real intentions and objective political abilities.

[BORBA] The thrust of your preelection campaign was mainly turned toward the Alliance of Reform Forces, and considerably less toward the People's Party, even though the members of the People's Party are your bigger rival. How do you explain this?

[Bulatovic] We clearly and unequivocally decided that during the election campaign, as the strongest party and

the best organized political force, we should talk most about ourselves and our plans. At the same time we were often the subject of political accusations and insinuations which we denied until the point when we had to say loud and clear what we thought about such suggestions. I think that a misconception has been created with regard to the Alliance of Reform Forces because the Alliance of Reform Forces is not a political force which we are attempting to fight. In fact, the whole confusion stems from what kind of place and role the Federal Executive Council has as the organ with the greatest powers and the greatest economic force in Yugoslavia. Every time we demanded that the federation, under the influence of the Federal Executive Council, fulfills its outstanding obligations toward the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, which stem from the necessity of adhering to federal laws and the Constitution, this was interpreted as political confrontations with the Alliance of Reform Forces. We have been trying to show and prove that Montenegro, as a state above all political parties, should not be fought. However, this illusory duality which follows the Alliance of Reform Forces has obviously affected this confusion in Montengrin political life. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] If you win the elections what specifically do you intend to offer with regard to Yugoslavia and Montenegro in Yugoslavia? What kind of attitudes will you have toward Serbia and toward a possibility of an independent Montenegro?

[Bulatovic] Our unequivocal view is that Yugoslavia is needed and that it can exists, that it should and must exist. It can only exist as a democratic federation of equal peoples and nationalities. We have not analyzed the alternative of Yugoslavia disintegrating. Several months ago we said, and were criticized for this, that Montenegro is a state which can only transfer part of its sovereignty onto the federation. In any other option or variant Montenegro would be an autonomous and independent state. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] What about relations with Serbia?

[Bulatovic] This question of relations with Serbia has in fact been answered by our general platform. We are continuously accused of having sold Montenegro to Serbia. Of course, we could not do that, nor did we want to do it. We intend to develop special forms of cooperation with Serbia, above all because of geographic, historic, ethnic, cultural, and all other reasons, but this does not mean at all that we are not ready to cooperate with other republics and Europe, which we are part of. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin Communists Discount Coalition

AU0712200390 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 90 p 3

[Kosta Cakic report: "The Caravan Has Gone Through 20 Communes"]

[Text] Titograd—As Momir Bulatovic said at a news conference on Monday [3 December], around 120,000 citizens attended the meetings that were held in all 20 communes in the republic to promote the election program of the League of Communists of Montenegro. The final election convention of the League of Communists of Montenegro is planned for the 5 December in Titograd.

Coalitions

One of the questions from journalists concerned the possibility of a coalition between the League of Communists and the People's Party, although the heads of both parties had denied this in earlier news conferences. Miodrag Marovic stressed the differences regarding several important issues. He said that one of these was the question of the future of Montenegro, which the League of Communists sees as a state of the Montenegrin people, citizens who respect their origins and their identity, as well as a state of all citizens regardless of their religious, ethnic, spiritual, and political orientation. According to the populists, Montenegro is a Serbian state and the Serbs are the majority people in it.

Marovic then said that Montenegro's strength and future cannot lie in guarantees of the power and force of "external allies." Therefore, he said, if one speaks about Serbia and a relationship with it, this relationship must rest on the principles of mutual respect for the basic values and ideas of modern and rational societies and not by any means on the illusory belief that guarantors of the strength and independence of Montenegro stand behind its people. He termed excessively adventuristic those stories about a change in the internal borders of Yugoslavia, which are, under certain circumstances, supported by the People's Party, and he stressed that the League of Communists is not in favor of historic borders but realistic ones.

Momir Bulatovic also said that a clear dividing line exists between the League of Communists and the People's Party, that is to say, as he stressed, there are much more similarities between the People's Party and the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Montenegro, even though, as Milo Djukanovic put it, differences exist between them too.

They Reacted Immediately

The journalists were also interested in hearing comments on the events in Virpazar where the inhabitants put up barricades to prevent Ante Markovic from entering the town and having lunch. As they claimed, as soon as they heard about the barricades, Momir Bulatovic and Milo Djukanovic spoke with those who had set up the barricades. They asked them to dismantle them, stressing that this could have undesirable political consequences. However, they were ignored.

Bosnian Parties on Serb, Montenegrin Elections

AU1112174290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Excerpts] The Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina have expressed their satisfaction with the first results of the elections in Serbia and Montenegro, and Stjepan Kljujic, leader of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], says that he had expected such an outcome and that one should respect the will of the Serbian people. Ljubomir Nikolic reports from Sarajevo:

[Nikolic] Asked whether the election of Slobodan Milosevic would make agreement about the future Yugoslavia more difficult, Stjepan Kljujic, leader of the HDZ for Bosnia-Hercegovina, expressed his conviction that Milosevic is not at all a worse partner than Vuk Draskovic, and that reason will win in these talks.

We respect the will of the Serbian people, but Bosnia-Hercegovina must be considered a sovereign republic equal to the others, a republic that will demand clear relations. We will no longer play a colony to more developed republics, Kljujic said.

Speaking about the future Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, its member, Stjepan Kljujic, claims that it will not be a group of extras, but a very significant body of the future authorities. However, it will differ from presidencies in other republics. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina harshly reacted today to Franjo Tudjman's recent statements concerning Bosnia-Hercegovina. Presidium member Krstan Malesevic deemed these statement a continuation of dishonest games about Bosnia-Hercegovina. Malesevic pointed out that by reiterating theses about repression against Croats, about Muslims being in fact Croats of Muslim faith, and about their connections with Croats, as well as communicational, historical, and geopolitical connections between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, Franjo Tudjman negates this republic's sovereignty and continues interfering with its policy and relations among its peoples.

Malesevic today expressed his satisfaction with the first results of elections in Serbia and Montenegro and stressed that this will facilitate the agreement about the future setup of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Discusses Different Types of Nationalism

AU1112132790 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 90 p 2

[HINA report on interview with Croatia President Franjo Tudjman granted to Rijeka LA VOCE DEL POPOLO: "Democratic Forces Are Stronger Than Dogmatic Forces"]

[Excerpts] In its issue published on Saturday, 1 December, LA VOCE DEL POPOLO carries an interview which Croatia President Dr. Franjo Tudjman gave to Rijeka journalist Ivo Vidotto in Lugano, where Franjo Tudjman received an honorary doctorate from the La Jolla University [on 25 November].

Answering the question concerning Yugoslavia's future, Dr. Tudjman said that Yugoslavia does not have even the slightest chance of surviving in its present form. The country is experiencing fundamental and profound changes and one could argue that the Yugoslavia created by Tito in the postwar period no longer exists. This is why the Yugoslav peoples are seeking new historic agreements and new solutions in the process of the creation of a new European community. Yugoslavia can survive only as a community of independent states based on the model of the EC, Dr. Tudjman said.

Serbian Expansionism

[Vidotto] The changes that you are talking about could be painful, and it could happen that this process leaves even traumatic consequences.

[Tudjman] I still believe that this process will end in a relatively peaceful way, even though dogmatic pan-Serbian forces are even stoking terrorist actions. We are confronted with a policy which is aimed at, nothing more or less, the expulsion of Slovenia from Yugoslavia to facilitate Serbian expansionism in Croatia and other parts of Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, Serbian expansionism has not been strong enough to overpower democratic and national forces of the non-Serbian population, and my view is that, considering the present situation in Europe, it does not have any chance of realizing such aspirations.

[Vidotto] What is your view of the communist opposition in Croatia?

[Tudjman] In Croatia itself we do not have any major difficulties in communicating with the opposition. We have established a democratic authority and the communist party has about 26 seats in the present republican parliament and can act with the greatest freedom. We only have serious problems with the old communist cadre who remained in administrative institutions and the economy. They are having great difficulties in adapting to democratic changes and in changing the way they think. [passage omitted]

There Are Various Types of Nationalism

[Vidotto] Do you not think that nationalism can also represent a great danger? There are also those who claim that the Croatian Democratic Community has a revanchist center, a nationalist, even fascist-oriented, center whose roots can be traced to World War II. Do you not think that it is in fact nationalism that can undermine our country?

[Tudjman] Those who saw and still see in the Croatian Democratic Community a pro-Ustasha or pro-fascist

center are in fact those who cannot accept the existence of the Croatian people, let alone their sovereignty. Before the elections, I stressed that the Croatian Democratic Community is a center party and that democracy would win in Croatia thanks to a democratic program founded on the most positive achievements in the history of Croatia, which is in full conformity with democratic currents in Europe. For this reason the democratic Republic of Croatia was well received in both Europe and the United States. The policy of the new Croatian authorities does not have even a trace of revanchism, nor any other form of adventurism concerning the international order.

Regarding the danger of nationalism, I can answer this question not only as the president of the party in power and the president of Croatia, but also as a historian. I wrote about the problem of nationalism in my books "Great Ideas and Small Peoples," published in 1971, "National Question in Present Day Europe," published in 1980, and later translated into English and German, and in my latest book "Impracticabilities of Historical Reality." [passage omitted]

In Yugoslavia, or to be more precise, in Serbia, one can notice the presence of pan-Serbian nationalism with expansionist intentions. This nationalism is preventing democratic currents by using the one party system within which an attempt is being made to renew the already collapsed communist party. Serbian nationalism is damaging because it wants to impose its own hegemony on other, non-Serbian peoples. I do not consider Croatian, Slovene, or Macedonian nationalism dangerous, however, because the nationalists in those republics only want to preserve their identity, sovereignty, and equality with other people. Moreover, it appears that Polish nationalism is positive, since it has managed to curb Soviet hegemonism. The same applies to the nationalism in the Baltic and Caucasian republics—that is, the efforts of those people to oppose the hegemony of Moscow. We live in a world which strives for full integration in all spheres, ranging from the economy to technology and culture, but which at the same time aspires to national individualization. [passage omitted]

Croation Trade Union President Klisovic Resigns

LD0812153290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 8 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—President of the Council of the Croatian Federation of Independent Trade Unions, Josip Klisovic, submitted his irrevocable resignation from the post at today's emergency session of the council.

Klisovic stressed that the reason for submitting his resignation was not the initiative of 15 presidents of independent trade unions on proceedings for a vote of confidence on his position as council president. He cited as the prime and exclusive reason for his resignation the stand of the government of the Republic of Croatia that it will not negotiate with these trade unions, but rather with each enterprise and its union individually, which he considered direct interference and an attack on the unity of trade union action and this trade union central body. The second reason, he said, is the impossibility of presenting to the public the open letter to the republican government from the last session of the council relating to the warning strikes of metal workers and textile workers, even by purchasing space in Zagreb newspapers. [passage omitted]

The session appointed a working party which will coordinate the work of the trade unions prior to the forthcoming conference of the Croatian Federation of Independent Trade Unions, which will be held on 14 December.

There are also warnings of cases of pressure on workers and trade union activists who take part in the warning strikes of workers in the metal, textile, leather, and footwear industries in Croatia.

The president of the Croatian Independent Metal Workers Union, Ivica Jakopcevic, said that he has information that "the authorities are entering enterprises," and that they are "asking for lists of workers who take part in the strikes, and put pressure for the dismissal of trade activists." [passage omitted]

Ilinden Group Member on Macedonians in Bulgaria

AU0912163990 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 90 p 12

[Interview with Macedonian Ilinden Organization Secretary Krasimir Iliev by Davor Ivankovic and Zelimir Zanko; place and date not given: "Sofia Continues To Negate Macedonians"; first two paragraphs are VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Excerpts] It was an exceptional thing to be able to talk with Krasimir Iliev, a Macedonian from Bulgaria and secretary of the semi-legal Macedonian "Ilinden" organization. Even his actual arrival in Skopje was a great miracle for him—he has in his time spent several years in Bulgarian jails because of this desire. Since the elections in Bulgaria, the new-old authorities have more or less retained the same attitude to the Macedonian issue as before.

"I came to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia to attend the first congress of the all-Macedonian movement, MAAK, on behalf of OMO, the united Macedonian organization, "Ilinden." Our organization fights for the recognition of the national and civil rights of Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia. We advocate affirmation of culture; we do not want and do not have any territorial pretensions toward neighboring Balkan states. Our aim is to unite all Macedonians in the cultural field and to organize symposiums, meetings, and discussion forums on the history of the Macedonian people, at which we would present documents and archive material on the identity of the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian people.

[VECERNJI LIST] When was the all-Macedonian organization, "Ilinden," created?

[Iliev] The "Ilinden" organization was set up on 18 March 1990 in the town of Sandanski in Bulgaria. It was joined by the independent Macedonian organization, VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization], the cultural-educational societies "Jane Sandanski," "Nikola Vapcarov," and "Goce Delcev," and the Independent Democratic Macedonian Front from Blagoevgrad. "Ilinden" now has 42 sections. The exact number of members is not known since it is increasing by the day, but we number about 16,000.

[VECERNJI LIST] How many Macedonians live in Bulgaria today?

[Iliev] A lot. According to statistics, there are around 360,000 Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia, but around two million Macedonians live in all of Bulgaria. The totally oppressive behavior of the Bulgarian Government and pressure from it, the fear that has lasted more than 45 years, all this has had an effect, so that people are scared to declare themselves Macedonians. About seventy percent of people in Pirin Macedonia are Macedonians, but very few of them can declare this. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] Did the Bulgarian Macedonians have their own party at the elections and are there Macedonians in the Bulgarian parliament?

[Iliev] Not one Macedonian party ran in the elections because Macedonians are not recognized, so therefore they do not dare have their own party. Actually it depends on what you mean by a Macedonian. "Two-faced" Macedonians or those who are traitors, sit in parliament but do not declare themselves officially as Macedonians but as Bulgarians. In private conversation, among those of us who know each other, many openly declare themselves Macedonians.

[VECERNJI LIST] How do Macedonians live in Bulgaria?

[Iliev] On the whole, the standard of living is very low, wages are low, and the standard of living is lowest in Pirin Macedonia. For example, most industry was located in other parts of Bulgaria so that the population would resettle, so that the Macedonians would move to other parts where there is a higher standard of living, and so that they would form mixed marriages and the Macedonians would gradually be assimilated. Nowadays, there are Macedonians everywhere in Bulgaria, on the Black Sea, in the center of Sofia, and on the edge of Bulgaria.

[VECERNJI LIST] Does the policy of the old-new Bulgarian government toward the Macedonians differ in any way from the previous policy?

[Iliev] Very little. The new authorities are the same as the old. There is some so-called incipient democracy but not the democracy that there should be. One official in the state security service openly told us: "Everything will be all right with you Macedonians if you do not say anything. Everyone can feel like a Macedonian but they cannot take part in a movement, association, party, or society, or agitate, or preach about the Macedonian nation."

[VECERNJI LIST] Are Macedonians mentioned in any way in the Bulgarian Constitution?

[Iliev] We were in the old documents and Constitution of Bulgaria, but Macedonians have been deleted from the new constitution!

[VECERNJI LIST] How do you view the issue of Albanians, as a minority in Macedonia, considering that you represent the Macedonian minority in Pirin Macedonia?

We Are Only Asking For Cultural Autonomy!

[Iliev] The Albanian issue in Macedonia is great! They have all rights, their own culture, their own language, but I think that one mistake has been allowed. It relates to the Albanian political party (Party for Democratic Prosperity) which operates as the party of the Albanian minority, set up on a single-nationality basis. I think that it should be known that it cannot operate like this in this Macedonia because this is a Macedonian state. In my opinion, parties based on an ethnic minority or religion should not exist, that is a mistake.

[VECERNJI LIST] Excuse me, but how then do you find it normal for a party or national movement of Macedonians, as an ethnic minority, to exist in Bulgaria but you do not find it normal for the same to exist in Macedonia? Do you know that Albanians recognize the Macedonian identity?

[Iliev] The Bulgarian Government suggested to us that we organize as a political party according to the existing laws. Under these laws, we as a political party cannot be legalized. However, we have not asked for this.

We are only asking for the cultural autonomy of Macedonians in Bulgaria, to feel like Macedonians, citizens of the Bulgarian state, and not to be a political party which will fight for power.

[VECERNJI LIST] That means that you are not thinking about joining territory with the motherland of Macedonia?

[Iliev] No! Only spiritual, cultural, and economic unification. [passage omitted]

[VECERNJI LIST] How does OMO "Ilinden" function and do you receive help from abroad?

There Is Room For Everyone

[Iliev] Our organization is based on self-help from membership fees and from private associations of Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia which give financial help to the work of the organization, but we have not yet received aid and large sums of money from [Macedonian emigres living in] Canada and Australia.

[VECERNJI LIST] What methods do you intend to use to fight for your rights, the rights of Macedonians in Bulgaria, and do you have contact with the authorities, the leadership?

[Iliev] We have contact with the supreme leadership. How do we intend to resolve the Macedonian issue? Above all, through facts and reasoning about Macedonians, history, and tradition. We hope that an international survey will be carried out in the near future, that a referendum will be organized, and that the population of Pirin Macedonia will be asked. We hope that Bulgaria will accommodate the CSCE resolutions on the rights of minorities. We are against any terrorism and against any brutal action. The OMO "Ilinden" works on humane principles through peaceful means. We are against any form of genocide and ethnocide. There is room for everyone. [passage omitted]

Trade Deficit Figures Released; Exports Rise

LD1112191790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's trade deficit in the first 11 months of this year is 3.86 billion dollars, the Federal Statistical Office announced today.

Yugoslavia's export in the eleven-month period was valued at 12.63 billion dollars and import at 16.49 billion dollars, the office said.

Yugoslavia's exports in this period, compared to the same period last year, rose by 9.1 percent and imports by [figure indistinct] percent.

The country's trade deficit in the first 11 months of last year was 995 million dollars.

The biggest foreign trade partner this year was Germany, with 4.979 billion dollars, followed by the Soviet Union with 4.520 billion dollars and Italy with 4.31 billion dollars.

Yugoslavia's exports to convertible currency markets in the first 11 months of this year increased 54.6 percent (10.46 billion dollars) and exports to developed countries went up 22.2 percent (7.46 billion dollars).

Yugoslavia's imports from convertible currency markets increased 41.3 percent (14.33 billion dollars).

The biggest rise was marked in the import of consumer goods—172.9 percent, while the import of raw materials increased 15.4 percent and of equipment 14.6 percent.

Presidency 'Positively' Assesses CSCE Summit

AU0812181190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28, 29, and 30 Nov 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Orientation Toward a New Europe"]

[Text] The CSCE summit, which was held in Paris, has confirmed a universal model of development which, by considering all particularities, should not deviate from the principles of pluralist democracy, the rule of law, the market economy, and respect for human and civil rights. This is said in a statement released after a session of the SFRY Presidency—chaired by Dr. Borisav Jovic—which discussed and adopted a report on the Yugoslav delegation's participation in the meeting of heads of state or the heads of the governments of CSCE member countries in Paris from 19 to 21 November 1990.

The Presidency positively assessed the activity of the Yugoslav delegation, stressing that the summit of CSCE member states in Paris was a unique meeting in postwar European history in its importance and results. At this summit, recent developments in Europe were recapitulated, the profound changes which have taken place in the meantime were reflected upon, and the CSCE process was raised to an essentially higher level by creating the basic institutional prerequisites so that the process will develop into a system of constant political consultation and cooperation.

The SFRY Presidency asserted that common views prevailed at the Paris summit concerning internal socioeconomic development, which is a new quality, never before seen at previous international conferences. In Paris, full legitimacy and endorsement was given to a universal social, political, and economic model of development for all member states which, by considering all particularities, should nevertheless not deviate from the principles of a pluralist democracy, the rule of law, a market economy, and respect for human and national rights. This was endorsed by everyone, not only as a model whose efficacy has been confirmed in practice but also as a prerequisite for moving forward toward a real, joint Europe.

The SFRY Presidency pointed out the importance of the fact that all speeches were dominated by a general orientation toward a new united and democratic Europe, which was also the basic message of the Paris charter.

The SFRY Presidency also assessed that the talks which Presidency President Dr. Boris Jovic had with the heads of state or government during the meeting in Paris, were useful in many ways from the point of view of maintaining continuity in political dialogue with Yugoslavia's important foreign policy partners and from the point of view of considering bilateral relations and, particularly, economic cooperation.

All discussion partners showed great interest in Yugoslavia's development and understanding for the difficulties in implementing economic and political reforms, expressing the expectation that Yugoslavia will preserve and strengthen its unity through democratic processes and that it will maintain its international standing and position on these foundations.

As concerns Republic Day and bearing in mind changes to the SFRY criminal law, the SFRY Presidency made the decision to pardon a certain number of prisoners, the statement says at the end.

RSA's Botha on Ties With Croatia, East Europe

AU0812204890 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 90 p 13

["Exclusive" interview with Roelof Botha, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of South Africa, by Majda Tafra; place and date not given: "'Croatia Is a Gem'"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Tafra] Can we conclude that some kind of representative relations will be established between Croatia, Slovenia and South Africa?

[Botha] Undoubtedly. During the talks in Slovenia and those in Croatia with the president, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and his colleagues, we agreed on the opening of representative offices. Regarding visas, there will be no obstacles to the citizens of our countries travelling and receiving visas within 24 hours.

[Tafra] Was this also a subject of the talks in Belgrade?

[Botha] Minister Loncar indicated to me that the federal authorities are interested in communication and contact, that is all for now. I did not insist because it is not in my interest to force relations if the other side does not show any interest in this. We only received guarantees, but they themselves put forward the view that the present complex situation with visas should be simplified by both sides.

On the Importance of Nonalignment

[Tafra] Was much said in Belgrade about Yugoslavia's role as the head of the Nonaligned Movement and the attitude toward South Africa?

[Botha] Yes. It seems to me that Foreign Affairs Minister Loncar attaches great significance to the Nonaligned Movement.

[Tafra] And you?

[Botha] No. I think that the purpose of the Nonaligned Movement has been taken over by something that I would call realignment, a new system of relations among states and peoples based on new positive principles. In this sense, I do not even know what nonalignment means. Nonalignment in relation to what? A process is going on in the world of general reconciliation among peoples. We in southern Africa are also aligning ourselves again, above all in relation to the countries of the region of southern Africa with which we are establishing bridges of friendship and cooperation.

[Tafra] Are you establishing relations with the frontline countries through the Organization of African Unity?

[Botha] No. We would rather establish these directly. I would not like to criticize anyone but I sincerely believe that representatives of the nonaligned countries could meet and pay tribute to the movement for everything that has been done so far, but also recognize that from the economic, political, and social viewpoints, they have fulfilled their world role. It would be a shame if the importance that the Yugoslav foreign minister attaches to the Nonaligned Movement meant that the establishment of more realistic relations with other countries was postponed because of it.

Both the Croatian and the Slovene governments are interested in establishing relations and the development of trade links. We are a trading nation, as you know. We export gold, minerals, coal, agricultural products, and we are open to all types of products and investment. I think that we can develop many joint interests in this field. [passage omitted]

[Tafra] What is South Africa's attitude toward the countries of Central and Eastern Europe?

Missions in Eastern Europe

[Botha] We are particularly interested in establishing relations with these states. We are opening missions in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, Romania, and perhaps Bulgaria and we also have special contacts with the Soviet Union. As regards Yugoslavia, I am not dissatisfied, although matters here are obviously complicated. The more talks I have, the more difficulties I uncover. However, I have already drawn conclusions and I am particularly pleased about the talks that I had in Slovenia and Croatia and the agreements that were reached. This is a country which could have a splendid future and a very important role in Europe because of overall relations and its Mediterranean position.

[Tafra] About 10,000 to 12,000 Croats live in South Africa and are involved in various businesses. There are also successful business people. What is their role in the establishment of relations between South Africa and Croatia and how have they fitted into South African society?

[Botha] Their contribution to our country is noticeable and they are highly appreciated. You can be proud of them. They particularly care about establishing relations with the mother country. I did not come here to evaluate but to investigate. I must say that I am pleased with what I have seen so far here but our governments will consider what form the representation that we have agreed upon will take. [passage omitted]

[Tafra] Within what time frame can we expect representative offices to open in Pretoria and Zagreb and the establishment of trade, cultural, and other relations?

[Botha] After the agreement with Dr. Tudjman, there are no obstacles to what has been agreed on being put into operation. I am personally very pleased about this and I think that this will be within the next few months. I did not see much of Croatia but what I did see and the people I have met have made a very good impression on me. I did not know that you had such a beautiful country and such a long coastline with thousands of islands. Croatia is a gem which only needs to polished a little more for all its brightness to shine through.